

# Modern Language Notes

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## CONCERNING THE *NOCTES AMBROSIANAE*

For over a dozen years, from March, 1822, to February, 1835, appeared in *Blackwood's Magazine* the *Noctes Ambrosianae*, a series of which Stevenson asserts, in one of his earliest essays, "Here is a book full of the salt of youth; a red-hot shell of animal spirits, calculated, if anybody reads it, to set up a fine conflagration among the dry heather of present-day Phariseism. Touch it as you will, it gives out shrewd galvanic shocks, which may, perhaps, brighten and shake up this smoke-dried and punctilious generation."<sup>1</sup>

Who wrote the first *Noctes Ambrosianae* of March, 1822, is not absolutely certain. So early as the *Chaldee Manuscript*, printed in *Blackwood's Magazine* of October, 1817, the veiled editor had appeared, and "the street of Oman, and the road of Gabriel, as thou goest up into the land of Ambrose" had been mentioned. In another article in the magazine entitled "Observations on *Peter's Letters to his Kinsfolk*" of February, 1819, moreover, "Mordecai Mullion" describes the bi-weekly meetings of the contributors to *Maga*, "at five o'clock to a hair" in Ambrose's hostelry in Gabriel Road, Edinburgh, where, following the proposal of Odoherty, the duty of reading and reviewing the various works in the magazine is decided by lot-drawing. This ingenious notion, which may be called the germ of the *Noctes*, receives expansion in "Two Reviews of a Military Work, Minutes and Proceedings at Ambrose's" of the following August, in which Odoherty and Tickler, at the Editor's decision, both review *Letters from Portugal, Spain, and France*, "by a British Officer," from diametrically opposite standpoints. "It is quite impossible," the article begins, "to find any where a finer specimen of independence, than may be met with in

<sup>1</sup> Quoted in John Skelton's *The Table-Talk of Shirley* (1895), p. 112.

the monthly meetings of the Contributors to this Magazine, at Ambrose's tavern." In Wilson and Lockhart's "The Twelfth of August" of the same number, and "The Tent" of the succeeding September, also, Hogg and various other characters, many of whom later appear in the *Noctes*, issue forth on an informal picnic. In this number of September, again, on the page opposite the table of contents, appears as first of the "Books Preparing for Publication, by William Blackwood," *The Autobiography of Christopher North, Esq. Editor of Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine*. . . . "Timothy Tickler" had already addressed various letters to the magazine; and "Odoherly," originated by Captain Tom Hamilton but later absorbed by Maginn, had contributed frothy articles, interspersed with verse, since the first year of the periodical. Just as "Christopher North" gradually grew from "the veiled editor," so the *Noctes Ambrosianae* gradually grew from these beginnings, and especially from "The Twelfth of August," and "The Tent" of September, 1819,—the mythical characters thus built up apparently surprising and delighting their creators as much as they did the reading public in general.

According to the American N. P. Willis, Lockhart began the *Noctes*. On his visit to Wilson in 1834, Willis learned from his host how he and Lockhart "used to sup together with Blackwood, and that was the real origin of the 'Noctes.'"

"At Ambrose's?"

"At Ambrose's."

"But is there such a tavern, really?"

"Oh, certainly. Anybody will show it to you. It is a small house, kept in an out-of-the-way corner of the town, by Ambrose, who is an excellent fellow in his way, and has had a great influx of custom in consequence of his celebrity in the *Noctes*. We were there one night very late, and had all been remarkably gay and agreeable. 'What a pity,' said Lockhart, 'that some short-hand writer had not been here to take down the good things that have been said at this supper.' The next day he produced a paper called '*Noctes Ambrosianae*,' and that was the first. I continued them afterward."<sup>2</sup>

Willis, an unreliable witness at best, has been vigorously refuted by R. Shelton Mackenzie, who remains convinced that the honor of originating the series belongs to William Maginn. Mackenzie's claim that parts of the first *Noctes* are certainly Maginn's

<sup>2</sup> *Pencilings by the Way, Complete Works of N. P. Willis* (1846), p. 199.



does not necessarily affect the argument regarding Lockhart's inception of the series, for the *Noctes*, at first, were largely of a communal character, and Lockhart may simply have included some part of Maginn's MS. in the first number. Nor does the fact advanced by others, that the motto was the selection and translation of Maginn, have any importance; for the motto does not appear until the sixth issue. Mackenzie is indeed justified in attributing the fourth of the series to Maginn;<sup>3</sup> yet because he wrote the fourth it does not necessarily follow that he wrote the first three. On the other hand, the internal evidence seems to me overwhelmingly to indicate Maginn's authorship, or part authorship, of the first of the *Noctes*.<sup>4</sup> Since, however, I happen personally to be extremely skeptical of the use of internal evidence for establishing authorship, I prefer to let the case rest at this point as "non-proven," even though Dr. Miriam M. H. Thrall, the latest authority on the subject, writes, "It is beyond question that

<sup>3</sup> See Mackenzie's edition of the *Noctes Ambrosianae* (1866), I. xvi; II. xxi; v. viii. In a letter to Blackwood of June 25, 1823 (Mrs. Oliphant's *William Blackwood and His Sons*, 1897, I. 396) Maginn confesses that he wrote the fourth of the *Noctes* (July, 1822) "out of Alaric's [A. A. Watts's] notes."

<sup>4</sup> I doubt very much, for example, if anybody but Maginn would, in the first number, have called Tennant's *Thane of Fife*, "mere humbug—quite defunct." William Tennant, personal friend of the *Blackwood* group, twice receives favorable notice elsewhere in the early *Noctes*.

Maginn, as the preceding note shows, wrote the fourth *Noctes*. The fourth resembles the first in the following respects:

1). In each Odoherty claims that he wrote the article against Hogg; and in each Hogg and Clare are compared.

2). In each Byron's "Irish Advent" [i. e., the poem "The Irish Avastar"] is mentioned, and in each Byron's works are defended. Moreover, in the first Odoherty mentions "the parsons about Murray's shop," and in the fourth he refers to Murray, "surrounded with rums and buzzes of parsons as he is."

3). In each Odoherty asserts that he writes all the puffs for Day and Martin; in each he satirizes Colburn's *New Monthly Magazine*; in each he refers to Hope's *Anastatius*. In each, moreover, occurs a joke about Odoherty's numerous illegitimate children.

4). The songs in the first number are pretty certainly Maginn's, especially the Italian take-off, "Signor Le Hunto, gloria di Cocagna"; so are the lyrics of the fourth number, especially the Latin parody of "Back and Side." This single point proves fairly conclusively that Maginn took at least a part in writing the first *Noctes*.

Maginn wrote the entire first *Noctes*. . . ."<sup>5</sup> The matter has the less importance in that not until John Wilson took over their composition in 1826 did the greatest of the series, with North, Hogg, and Tickler as the principals, appear.

The *Noctes* of 1822 are, indeed, entirely experimental. In the first, of March, Christopher North speaks with Odoherty; in the second, of April, with Buller of Brasennose and Timothy Tickler; in the third, of May, with Odoherty, Tickler, and a variety of miscellaneous characters, including Dr. Scott the Odontist, and Sir Andrew Wylie and Pen Owen, heroes taken from contemporary novels. Maginn's fourth number, of July, "transferred (by poetic license) to Pisa," has only Odoherty and Byron as speakers; but the fifth issue of September, celebrating George IV.'s visit to Scotland, introduces into the first scene North, Odoherty, Tickler, Seward, Buller, Highland Chieftain, and Mr. Blackwood, and in the various scenes thereafter a great variety of characters. In October, instead of the *Noctes*, "Boxiana" appears in a Noctean form. Not until the sixth number of December, 1822, is Hogg introduced, a faint foreshadowing only of Wilson's later characterization. He is omitted, moreover, in July and August, 1823, and in March and August, 1824. Thus he appears in only seven of the first sixteen numbers. Except for his excellent presentation in October, 1823, moreover, he is only faintly amusing. In the early *Noctes*, indeed, Odoherty rather excels the Shepherd.

Yet even these early numbers possess the highest vitality. In the drunken huffiness and quarrel among the characters at the end of the number for May, 1822; in the elimination by tobacco smoke of three of the "seven young men" (callow Whigs already met with in the "Chaldee Manuscript" and in the "Pilgrimage to the Kirk of Shotts") in September, 1822; in the hilarious resurrection into life of Leddy Grippy of Galt's *Entail*, in June, 1823; in Mordecai Mullion's ingurgitation of certain grains of opium absent-mindedly left by De Quincey on his plate, in October, 1823; and in Hogg's swallowing of the fly or fishhook in April, 1824,—in such scenes we have the full flavor of the famous series, and from

<sup>5</sup> *Rebellious Fraser's* (1934), p. 239. (Blackwood's letter mentioned by Dr. Thrall on pp. 239-40, in which, as Mrs. Oliphant absurdly suggests, the *Noctes* may first have received mention, was written a year and a half after the series began, in August or September, 1823.)

them we can understand the delight of the readers of *Maga* one hundred years ago. The first number, like many a later, ends by the Editor's saying, "I see the daylight peeping down the chimney." And in the first a popular element, the eating, commences also.

Editor. Will you have some supper?

Odoherthy. Excuse me, I never eat supper.

Editor (*rings*). Waiter, Welsh rabbits for five, scoloped oysters for ten, six quarts of porter, and covers for two.

More subtle is the touching remark of Mr. Ambröse, in the closing lines of the second number: "I am so happy to see Mr. Buller in Scotland again, that I cannot think of making any charge for a few hundred oysters, and a mere gallon of gin." Here are hints, at least, of the Ettrick Shepherd's later voracity. . . .

Needless to say, the idea of the *Noctes* was a happy one; for by this means the gay young Tory wits established an even more intimate relationship between their readers and *Maga*, most intimate of magazines. Here, for the first time, Wilson could write as well as he talked, passing from subject to subject with his extraordinary gusto. Inconsistent and contradictory always, here was no need for consistency:—here, above all, was afforded him an opportunity to pour out, by the bucket, his "flamboyant vitality." From the first the *Noctes* possessed personality. Yet personality comes with better grace from imaginary characters in a jovial setting. Attacks on the Whigs, the "Cockneys," and other enemies or supposed enemies of the magazine—"I am intolerant to nobody but Quacks and Cockneys," exclaims Christopher North in April, 1822—equally vigorous puffs for themselves and friends—Henry Mackenzie "will live as long as our tongue, or longer," says North again in the same number—comments good-natured or fustigatory, friendly or withering, on contemporary affairs, literary, political, and general,—make the *Noctes*, with their combination of local and national interests, in miniature an autobiography of the early *Maga*, a Tory kaleidoscope of the years 1822 to 1835. It is no wonder that they were imitated in dozens of periodicals.

Once established, material flowed in from every side and the early *Noctes* show a remarkably heterogeneous character. Various passages in Lockhart's letters printed in Mrs. Oliphant's *William Blackwood and His Sons* illustrate how he was in the habit of

combining material of his own with that of others. Thus in a note to William Blackwood, probably of about August, 1823, Lockhart writes:

Your idea of the "Noctes" is most capital; but the thing must be done at leisure, and I rather think when Wilson and I are together. Meantime trust it to the Doctor [Maginn], and let me have his hints. This would be the far best vehicle for discussing the Periodical Press. . . . Hogg told me he had been editing a "Noctes." Let me see it when it is in type, that I may put in a few cuts at himself. . . .

And again:

I enclose what I have been able to do. I have all but omitted Hogg, according to the Professor's [i. e., Wilson's] request, leaving him to fill up that character as he pleases. . . . Hogg's song is very good, and if Cheape sends anything, Wilson will easily interweave that also.

The letter refers I think to the eleventh *Noctes* of August, 1823: it is interesting that thus early Wilson should have taken the Shepherd to himself. In his next letter Lockhart unquestionably refers to the eleventh *Noctes*:

I can't do anything to speak of in the "Noctes" this month. I think Wilson's article on King Leigh [Hunt] quite *magnifique*! quite inimitable. He will feel the fun more than a ton of bitterness from the Doctor or me. My notion is that it should be a part of the "Noctes" after Maginn's part in the little bit I have sent; then this lecture of the Professor's; then the other little bit of mine, and the song with which "Maga" concludes. But if you don't like this, anyway you like. . . . I have corrected a word or two in Maginn's "Noctes," but not the article throughout. Don't think of sending me any more proofs. Correct the song yourself.

In another letter, which I think belongs to November, 1823, Lockhart writes again:

Nothing delighted me more than to see the way Hogg is treated—and next "Noctes" will perhaps lift him yet higher by being partly his own. . . . As for the letter of the Goth [Alaric A. Watts], 'tis excellent, and will be of use in the "Noctes" of next number. The Suicide is really a man of talents. You should request him to write you letters on the Alaric plan as material for "Noctes."<sup>\*</sup>

Finally in a communication which I am unable to date Lockhart

<sup>\*</sup> Watts's letters appear to have been constantly employed by the *Blackwood* wits in the *Noctes*, as were the letters also of Crofton Croker, see Mrs. Oliphant, I. 499, 515-16.

informs Blackwood: "I enclose the rest of the 'Noctes.' The Professor may add what he likes. We have of late had so much of Hogg's talk that I have made him say little this time; but if Wilson pleases he can stuff out the porker with some of his own puddings. . . ."<sup>7</sup>

Even after 1826 Wilson appears to have been by no means averse to introducing the material of others into his own *Noctes*, as Mrs. Gordon's bibliography of her father's writings in Appendix III of her *Christopher North* conclusively proves:

- July, 1826. Noctes [Wilson], 15- Moir or Hogg, 3.<sup>8</sup>  
 October, 1826. Noctes [Wilson], 16½- Hogg, 1¾- Mr. C. Croker, 1¾.  
 May, 1828. Noctes [Wilson], 10, L[ockhart] 13, with pieces from Hogg, C. Croker.  
 October, 1828. Noctes [Wilson], 20½- 17- White, 3- Hogg, 1.

The discussion of *Retzsch's Illustrations of Hamlet* in the *Noctes* of November, 1828, comes from the hand of Hartley Coleridge;<sup>9</sup> two of the songs in the numbers of January and February, 1831, from that of Robert Macnish.<sup>10</sup> In the latter number also North sings a poem "by my friend Robert Folkestone Williams—written, he tells me, especially for the *Noctes*"; and a year later, in February, 1832, he quotes "The Forging of the Anchor" by Samuel Ferguson, the first published poem of a youth whom "Maga will be proud of introducing . . . to the world." Two books and innumerable articles have been written on the authorship of the "Canadian Boat Song," most famous of Noctean lyrics, which appeared in the number of September, 1829. It may be added that Lockhart and Maginn contributed largely to the series in later years also. In June, 1829, the latter introduced Rabbi Moses Edrehi, an acquaintance "whom," a contemporary writes, "we ourselves remember going about Cambridge in dirty robes, selling bad cigars, and asking subscriptions to a book on the river

<sup>7</sup> Lockhart's various letters appear in Mrs. Oliphant, I. 202, 203, 203-4, 209, and 221.

<sup>8</sup> The numbers stand for pages. To the *Noctes* of July, 1826, Wilson contributed 15 pages, Hogg or Moir 3 pages, etc.

<sup>9</sup> *Essays and Marginalia of H. Coleridge*, ed. by D. Coleridge (1851), I. 172.

<sup>10</sup> D. M. Moir, "Life of R. Macnish," in *Tales, Essays and Sketches by R. Macnish* (1838), I. 179, 182.

Sabbatyon."<sup>11</sup> This number, as well as the numbers for July and September of the same year, were composed by Lockhart and Maginn "at the Salopian," in London.<sup>12</sup> Nor is this the last of Lockhart's contributions to the series.<sup>13</sup> On August 8, 1831, Wilson sent him the following hitherto unpublished letter, now in the National Library of Scotland:

I am going to Windermere on the 23<sup>d</sup> and hope that you will enable me to do so with some comfort, by writing a *Noctes*. I advise you to leave out the Shepherd altogether, who is a stumbling block in such a dialogue as the last,<sup>14</sup> and well out of the way. North & Tickler are sufficient. No Macrabin I beseech—nor Dr. Wodrow.<sup>15</sup> I hope you will go on with the whole House; but do, to please me, be kind or at least civil to all good fellows on our side, if any such there be—and do not, by slight but sharpest sneers make them hate life. I see myself complimented in the *Spectator* as the author of the *Noctes* and *Unimore*—which shews at least that one person does not think me a weak brother. Two or three such *Noctes* will verily promote the sale; & relieve me (another consideration) from the monthly misery of imagining new matter for that popular series. There are some touches in the last very hellish. . . . You must not disappoint *Ebony* [Blackwood] in a *Noctes*, for if you do, I must remain here; which would be very unpleasant. . . . I wish you would keep your eye for a day or two on the war, with which, thank God, Providence is about, seemingly, to favor us forthwith, and explain its principles in the *Noctes*. . . .

It was perhaps natural that outsiders, who knew nothing of the highly unsystematic character of the *Noctes*, should have been ready to build up a legend. Thus a former student of Wilson's wrote in the year of the professor's death, 1854: "The gentlemen in question did meet every month, perhaps oftener, at Ambrose's tavern, in Gideon Street, a narrow Edinburgh lane . . . and there concocted the topics for the next month's *Noctes*, allotting to each member of the coterie that class of a subject which generally fell to his share."<sup>16</sup> The absurdity of such a statement needs no com-

<sup>11</sup> *Fraser's Magazine*, October, 1855, LII. 370.

<sup>12</sup> Mrs. Oliphant, I. 243.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, I. 244, 247-8, 252. See also Mackenzie's edition of the *Noctes*, III. xiii.

<sup>14</sup> That is, in the *Noctes* of August, 1831, where the Shepherd is completely subordinated to North and Tickler. Lockhart followed Wilson's suggestion and included only the two characters, North and Tickler, in the *Noctes* of September.

<sup>15</sup> Referring to Maginn and Lockhart's *Noctes* of September, 1829.

<sup>16</sup> Angus B. Reach, "Life and Characteristics of the late Professor Wilson," *Bentley's Miscellany*, xxxv. 583.



ment. Yet there is no reason why certain of the early *Noctes* may not have resulted from such meetings. R. P. Gillies indeed expressly declares that

These "Noctes," instead of being merely invented, as may have been supposed, were at first adaptations of what actually took place at tavern-meetings in Gabriel's Road, before the landlord shifted his quarters to Picardy Place,—meetings which took place naturally enough, when Blackwood, in the joy of his heart, invited a successful contributor to "bread and cheese" at the house where he had his own refreshments,—the so-styled bread and cheese soon changing into beefsteaks, porter, and port; and these in time giving way to venison, claret, and champagne. I will give one instance. . . . I think it was in the year 1824 or 25. . . .

The party at dinner was not a large one. It consisted of Hogg, president; his "two grand Americans," young men of respectable demeanour (who personally knew several of the Transatlantic authors, and who wore frills and hand-ruffles, in the style of 1794); Blackwood; Timothy Tickler [i. e., Robert Sym]; and my friends,—to wit, a brother lawyer and two Leith merchants. Of the three last, none had been at a "Noctes" before; and they were, consequently, much amused and surprised, as were, of course, the "two grand Americans." Indeed, one main charm of such jovial meetings depended on the introduction now and then of a *fresh man*, sufficiently intelligent to enjoy the broad humour of the scene. And the greatest attraction of all consisted in the complete *sans gêne* and comfort of the place, contrasting with the humility of the apartments.

The cheer that day was excellent, and Hogg in enormous glee; as usual with him on all festive occasions, denouncing the use of wine, and mixing jug after jug of Glenlivet punch, in which the Leith merchants willingly joined him. About half-past ten, when our "mirth and fun" had begun to "grow fast and furious," arrived Messrs. L[ockhart] and G[alt]; the former glad to escape from the theatre, where he had been assisting at a benefit; the latter somewhat tired, having walked all the way from his country-house, near Musselburgh. They were received with shouts of welcome. I directed their attention to the store of champagne and claret which had been left in the ice-pail; and, to their great satisfaction, ordered a supper of devilled lobsters and Welsh rabbit. Blackwood, who had for the last hour been fast asleep, tried to awake on the entrance of supper, and flopping of champagne corks; and opening half of one eye, helped himself to an *entire* Finnan haddock. The conversation, the songs, the practical jokes of that night, were all so extravagant and ridiculous, that it would have been impossible for any sober man to have *invented* the like. Within two days thereafter, the proceedings were fairly written out by Mr. L——, and printed by James Ballantyne. But of all the "Noctes" hitherto exhibited, this production looked the most unlike to truth, and yet was nothing more than a faithful sketch from real life.<sup>17</sup>

<sup>17</sup> "Some Recollections of James Hogg," *Fraser's Magazine*, October, 1839, xx. 428-9.

Luckily we are in this instance able to check at least a small part of Gillies' account by the account of Hogg himself. In *Songs, by the Ettrick Shepherd* of 1831, the author's prefatory remarks to the pieces are frequently more entertaining than the pieces themselves. Thus he writes on page twenty-eight that "The Noctes Sang" (which may be found in the nineteenth *Noctes* of March, 1825)

was made one day in Edinburgh, for singing in Ambrose's at night, on a particular occasion, when a number of foreign literary gentlemen were to be of the party. I did not sing it till late at night, when we were all beginning to get merry; and the effect on the party was like electricity. It was encored I know not how oft, and Mr. Gillies ruffed and screamed out so loud in approbation, that he fell from his chair, and brought an American gentleman down with him. I have lost a verse of it, but it is likely to have been preserved in the *Noctes Ambrosianae*. It has been always the first song of our jovial meetings ever since. The air is my own, and a very capital one. I believe it is preserved in the *Noctes*, and nowhere else.

Other strangers no doubt attended similar meetings from time to time. So late as May, 1832, Samuel Ferguson wrote his brother John from Scotland: "I spent ten days delightfully in Edinburgh, receiving every kindness and compliment that I could have possibly desired. Wilson asked me to Ambrose's, where I had a 'nox Ambrosiana,' and introduced me to his family, with whom I spent two very pleasant evenings."<sup>18</sup>

When James Hogg, an actual living person, suddenly found himself presented, for some thirteen years, as a fictitious character in a highly popular magazine, what, we may ask in conclusion, was his attitude towards the presentation? It may be summarized in a sentence: if he sometimes grumbled, undoubtedly his pride in his public appearance outweighed his momentary irritation. He wrote William Blackwood from Mount Benger on March 28, 1828:

I am exceedingly disgusted with the last beastly "Noctes," and as it is manifest that the old business of mocking and ridicule is again beginning, I have been earnestly advised by several of my best and dearest friends to let you hear from me in a way to which I have a great aversion. But if I do, believe me, it shall be free of all malice, and merely to clear my character of sentiments and actions which I detest, and which have proved highly detrimental to me.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>18</sup> Lady Ferguson, *Sir Samuel Ferguson in the Ireland of his Day* (1896), I. 25.

<sup>19</sup> Mrs. Oliphant, I. 355-6.

This is the strongest expression of disgust with which I am acquainted. In contrast may be quoted the following anecdote:

That Hogg was not so *very* indignant at being put into the *Noctes* may be judged from an anecdote related to me by one who knew him very well, and loved him dearly as a brother. "One autumn," he says, "while Hogg lived at Mount Benger, I spent some days with him. One of said days was a rainy Saturday, during which we were put to our in-door resources. Having exhausted songs and stories, puns and punch, we went to the parlor-window, on the look-out for the Peebles carrier, who was expected to bring some bales of literary ware for the Shepherd. The man and his cart appeared in sight, slowly zig-zagging from side to side down the steep hill. After fifteen minutes' delay, which seemed fifty to us, the packages were landed and cut open, and we were deep in books, pamphlets, and newspapers;—but the *glee* eye of the Shepherd singled out Blackwood, just issued for the month. The *Noctes* were laid open in a moment, and presently Hogg's mirth exploded in a loud guffaw, as he exclaimed, slapping his thigh, 'Gad, he's a droll bitch, that Wulson! an' as wonderfu' as he's droll!' He had alighted upon one of Wilson's raciest personifications of himself, and could not restrain his appreciation of its skill and genius."<sup>20</sup>

The last third of a description of Hogg, "from the Course of Lectures about to be delivered in Manchester by J. M. Wilson," in November, 1831, runs as follows:

. . . There is no likeness in James Hogg to the Ettrick Shepherd in the *Noctes Ambrosianae*. This is a subject of continual uneasiness to himself, and of complaint to his family. To me he said—"The using of my name in that manner vexes me vera much. Particularly, ye see, because Margaret [Mrs. Hogg] and her friends are aye complaining about it. Now Wilson wad na for the world do me ony ill; but when I tell him about it, he just laughs at it; and although that, as I say to him, he makes me say things that he drurna say himsel. And though it is a' well enough for people who ken me; yet, sir, he has sae mony o' my phrases, and the form o' the expression is sae often mine, that I dinna wonder at the public believing me to be such a person as is represented. And it is chiefly through that, that the folk in London say I have plenty o' genius but I want taste."<sup>21</sup>

Within only a month or two the Shepherd was to show "the folk in London" his true and not his merely fictitious self. Cyrus Redding met him early in 1832, and has given a picture of his timidity in the London streets.

<sup>20</sup> Mackenzie's edition of the *Noctes*, iv. xviii.

<sup>21</sup> *Westmoreland Gazette*, November 5, 1831, quoted from the *Manchester Courier*.

Hogg was a much quieter man than Wilson made him out and was reported to say things he was too well informed to utter. His writings are eminently Scotch, and were not adapted to make a sensation in this country. I confess in all I ever saw of Hogg, which was not much, I was greatly prepossessed in favour of his abilities. . . . He complained to me that Wilson made a show of him in "Blackwood." This was coquetry, he did not really dislike it; he was eager for notoriety. I told him that but for Wilson, we Southerners should scarcely have known anything about him.

"Aye, but Wilson is too bad, for he makes me say things I could not dream of uttering."<sup>22</sup>

The ever quotable N. P. Willis wrote in September, 1834:

I spoke of the "Noctes."

He [Wilson] smiled, as you would suppose Christopher North would do, with the twinkle proper of genuine hilarity in his eye, and said, "Yes, they have been very popular. Many people in Scotland believe them to be transcripts of real scenes, and wonder how a professor of moral philosophy can descend to such carousings, and poor Hogg comes in for his share of abuse, for they never doubt he was there and said everything that is put down for him."

"How does the Shepherd take it?"

"Very good humoredly, with the exception of one or two occasions, when cockney scribblers have visited him in their tours, and tried to flatter him by convincing him he was treated disrespectfully. But five minutes' conversation and two words of banter restore his good humor, and he is convinced, as he ought to be, that he owes half his reputation to the Noctes."<sup>23</sup>

Hogg himself has rendered the highest tribute to the series, for Maginn declared in *Fraser's Magazine* of July, 1833:

The Shepherd has sent us a couple of the most admirable articles that can possibly be conceived, which he wishes us to publish under the title of *Noctes Ambrosianae*. Nothing can be better than the dialogue; but we have our own reasons for doing what the grammarians deem impossible, viz. declining the article. Hogg thinks that we are wrong. He writes to say, that

"You cannot imagine the sensation the very advertisement will create; for there never was as popular and as happy a plan projected in the world for vending all sorts of sentiments and ideas. . . ."<sup>24</sup>

Does not such eulogium nullify his occasional grumblings elsewhere?

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<sup>22</sup> C. Redding, *Fifty Years' Recollections* (1858), III. 18.

<sup>23</sup> See Note 2.

<sup>24</sup> "The Shepherd's Noctes, and the Reason why they do not appear in *Fraser's Magazine*."

CHARLES MACKLIN'S LOST PLAY ABOUT  
HENRY FIELDING

In the Larpent Collection of plays at the Huntington Library is a manuscript copy of *The Covent-Garden Theatre, or Pasquin Turn'd Drawcansir*, a play about Henry Fielding written by the actor Charles Macklin. It was performed only once, on April 8, 1752 at a benefit for Macklin, who played the chief rôle. It was never printed, and all trace of it was lost.<sup>1</sup> The only direct information about it was copies of the playbill which appeared in a number of the papers (including Fielding's *Covent-Garden Journal*),<sup>2</sup> and an enigmatic review by Bonnell Thornton in *The Drury-Lane Journal* which gives no clue to the nature of the play. A number of conjectures have been made about it and about Macklin's reasons for presenting such a play at this time.<sup>3</sup> These have assumed, for one reason or another, that it is an attack on Fielding, but it turns out to be, instead, a thoroughly sympathetic portrait of Fielding in the rôle of public censor—a rôle he had assumed in his own play *Pasquin* sixteen years before, and was now playing, as Sir Alexander Drawcansir, in the columns of *The Covent-Garden Journal*.

Fielding was never more actively in the public eye than during the years 1751-2. He was at the height of his career as a magistrate, and in that capacity he was principally occupied with problems of social reform. He was the proprietor, with his brother John, of the Universal Register Office. He published *Amelia*. He started *The Covent-Garden Journal*, and he engaged in the absurd but vigorous battle with Dr. John Hill and the other wits known as the newspaper war. The public was watching his activities, and commenting freely on them in the press and elsewhere. He was taunted by anonymous pamphleteers who tried to drive him into political controversies. His paper was ridiculed, satirized, and

<sup>1</sup> Like most of the manuscripts in the Larpent Collection this one is in a copyist's hand. The play is listed in Allardyce Nicoll's *Eighteenth Century Drama, 1750-1800*, but Professor Nicoll apparently did not see the text.

<sup>2</sup> A copy of this playbill may be found in G. E. Jensen's edition of *The Covent-Garden Journal*, I, 71-2.

<sup>3</sup> W. L. Cross, *The History of Henry Fielding*, II, 410-413; G. E. Jensen, *op. cit.*, I, 70-72; M. G. Godden, *Henry Fielding*, Appendix B.

imitated. His articles were copied in monthly journals and discussed in the daily press.

Much of the attention centered, in the early months of 1752, around the newspaper war in which Hill was Fielding's chief enemy.<sup>4</sup> In the course of it Fielding was the subject of many of the leaders in *The London Daily Advertiser*, written by Hill, and he took pains to reply to them at length. Smollett took a brief part in the battle. Bonnell Thornton, in *The Drury-Lane Journal*, kept up a running parody of *The Covent-Garden Journal* for nearly three months. Pamphlets, poems, newspaper articles about the war were endless. Fielding was receiving a great deal of attention—much of it unfavorable.

During these months two plays were written with Fielding as their subject. The first was *Fun: A Parodi-tragi-comical Satire* by William Kenrick, who had many times before wielded a venomous pen against Fielding. Like most of the offspring of these controversies it satirized Fielding's part in the newspaper war, picturing him as a sorry figure who is finally ignominiously destroyed by Dr. Mountain (Dr. John Hill) and Roxana Termagant (Bonnell Thornton). The satire extends to his activity as a magistrate, and pictures him deciding unjustly in even the most obvious cases. The play was banned just as the first curtain was about to rise, but it appeared in print some weeks later (March 5, 1752).

The second was *The Covent-Garden Theatre*, performed at that house as an afterpiece to *The Provok'd Husband*. No author is mentioned in the published playbills, although several contemporary references name Macklin<sup>5</sup> and one of Macklin's biographers mentions it among his works.<sup>6</sup> Cross, Jensen, and Miss Godden accept him as the probable author. The manuscript itself is anonymous, but a passage in the text names Macklin. Marforio, assistant to Pasquin, after presenting a list of offenders to the Censor says

<sup>4</sup> This Newspaper War has been described at length by Cross, II, 386-437, and by Jensen, I, 29-98.

<sup>5</sup> *The Inspector in the Shades*, a burlesque of Dr. John Hill's *Inspector*, published July 13, 1752, p. 15; G. A. Stevens, *Distress upon Distress*, 1752, pp. xiii-xiv.

<sup>6</sup> J. T. Kirkman, *Memoirs of the Life of Charles Macklin*, London, 1799, and Wm. Cooke, *Memoirs of Charles Macklin*, London, 1806, do not list this among Macklin's works, but Chas. Parry, *Charles Macklin*, London, 1891, does.



"... here is a presentment against one Charles Macklin, Comedian, of the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden." The company demand that the statement be read.

Pas. The substance of it is, That he hath written a strange hotch-potch Farce, and puff'd it upon the Town as written after the manner of Aristophanes and the Pasquinades of the Italian Theatre.—Gentlemen, This is an affair entirely Cognizable to the Town; All I can say upon it is, That, if you Condemn him, I will take care the Blockhead shall never trouble you again—In the manner of Aristophanes.

In the absence of any description of the play, Jensen (I, 70-1) was led, by the title and the advertisements in the newspapers, to write of Fielding's attitude toward the paper war: "The comical side of the affair evidently came home to him very quickly, for in his *Journals* previous to the 8th of April we find him printing advertisements of a burlesque skit on his quarrel with Hill,—*Pasquin turn'd Drawcansir*." Cross (II, 410-11) also suggests it must have some part in the war with Hill, but assumes principally that it is an attack by Macklin in revenge for real or fancied slights, and for Fielding's attitude toward the Covent-Garden Theatre in his *Journal*.

But the play makes only the most casual references to the war, and was certainly not written, as these critics have assumed, in support of Fielding's enemies. It pictures him as a critic who, for his very love of the town and its people, undertakes the task of censorship. The play has no plot. Pasquin stands before his audience, and a procession of people symbolizing the frivolities, follies, and vices of the town pass in review. These had engaged Fielding's interest for many years, now more than ever. Many of the people and the pastimes satirized in this play appeared also for judgment in the pages of *The Covent-Garden Journal*. The play exhibits Fielding's hatred of vanity and vice in Fielding's own language, and it argues at length against the evil of gambling, only recently the object of a vigorous campaign by the magistrate. In fact the language in Pasquin's attack on gamblers and sharpers is so like Fielding's own in the *Enquiry on the Late Increase in Robbers* that it is not impossible he had some hand in it. The whole, indeed, is much more like Fielding than like Macklin who, if he did write this with no help from Fielding, succeeded in

imitating him with remarkable faithfulness. It is certainly likely that Fielding saw the manuscript before the production of the play. Although *The Covent-Garden Journal* carried few theatrical advertisements, notices of this play appeared in it on March 14, 17, 21, and 28, and it is difficult to suppose that, in the light of all the attacks levelled against him, Fielding would have admitted them without knowing the text of the play.<sup>7</sup>

The only review of the play that has turned up is the one by Bonnell Thornton. Taken alone the review conveys nothing, but with the text of the play in mind his comments and criticism become clear. He makes nine charges against it. The first is that it is new, and hence bad (as the common run of plays are bad because they are *not* new). Second, it was "a foolish affair" because he could not "at once see into the contrivance," but the stupid author kept him in suspense all the while. Third, the playwright made the audience play a part and "converted our very marks of disapproval into an applause of his design." Moreover, he admitted the whole audience as critic, "a right by usage and custom belonging solely to me and my grumbling fraternity, the Critics." Thornton here refers to Pasquin's opening speech to the audience.

My scene I have laid in the Common Theatre, which is my usual place of exposing those Knaves and Fools, who despise the Moral, and those who are too great or too Subtle for the common Law, and as my whole design is new, I hope You my Gracious Patrons, will not be Offended if I Assigne you a part in this Pasquinade which is this,—You are to act as a Chorus to the whole. When you behold a Fool pleasantly exposed You are to laugh, if you please, not else;—When a Knave is satyriized with Spirit and Wit, You are to Applaud;—and when Pasquin is dull you are to explode, which I suppose will be the Chief of Your Part . . . I'll engage the Pit, Boxes, and Galleries perform their parts to a Numerous and polite Audience, and with Universal Applause. As soon as they shall hear the Cue depend upon it you'll hear them Speak.

Obviously a hiss could be taken as the rejection of a character rather than of an actor or of the play. Thornton's fifth objection is that the "Satire was too home, and abused me in particular

<sup>7</sup> During the month of March only three theatrical performances were advertised in the *Journal*. Like Macklin's, the other two were benefit performances. Fielding carried little general advertising of either books or plays. During this month all the books advertised, with a single exception, issued from the press of Andrew Millar, Fielding's publisher.

and was levelled at his betters, and ridicul'd fine gentlemen and fine ladies, and gamesters, and lords, and maids of honour." *The Town* was the signature Thornton used. Pasquin in the play describes the character of *The Town*:

... a Monster made up of Contrarieties, Caprice steers your Judgment—Fashion and Novelty your Affections; Sometimes so splenetic as to damn a Cibber, and even a Congreve, in the Way of the World;—And sometimes so good-natured as to turn out in Crowds after a Queen Mab, or a Man in a Bottle.\*

Sixth, it made "some very polite people in the boxes decamp in a hurry" in the face of the attacks. Seventh, "it was too long and too short, too witty and too dull, had too much art and too little, was too plain and too unintelligible, meant too much and meant too little"—all of which explains nothing. Eighth, in the Exordium and Peroration "he behaves like a thief who, instead of confessing his own faults, with malice prepense exposed those of his judges." Pasquin had said:

To Conclude, my Business in this Land may be sum'd up in a few Words; it is to get your money and cure you of your Foibles, for wherever Pasquin comes the Public is his Patient; its folly his Support.

Lastly, Thornton ends, "I don't like it."<sup>9</sup>

It seems clear that, although he had often raised his own pen against Fielding, Thornton felt some sympathy for this play and for the censorship of Pasquin. Certainly the review is no ill-natured blow against either author or subject. Supposing the play to be an attack on Fielding, Cross says of the reviewer, "Evidently to his discomfort he saw the piece completely damned." If his objections to Fielding were as strong as this implies they were, he should have been glad to see the play damned.

The play is in two acts, the scene the stage of a theatre. Pasquin enters and delivers an oration. He addresses his public,

Nobles, Commons, Belles, Wits, Critics, Bards and Bardlins, and ye my very good Friends of Common Sense, tho' last, not least in Merit—Greetings and Patience to you all.

\* "Queen Mab" and the "Man in a Bottle" were current entertainments. See also Fielding's discussion of the word "Town" in *C. G. J.* for Jan. 14, 1752.

<sup>9</sup> *Drury-Lane Journal*, April 9, 1752.

His opening speech over, he calls Marforio,<sup>10</sup> his assistant, who is to bring before him the offenders against Common Sense. Marforio cautions him not to be harsh; but to "strive to gain the favor of the Public by Morality and Panegyrick." But Pasquin scorns this:

You might as well advise a Soldier to make his fortune by Cowardice, No, Sir, he who would gain the Esteem of a Brave, a Wise, and a Free people, must lash their Vices, and laugh at their follies.

Pasquin retires and watches the smart set of the town enter. There is Miss Brilliant, who knows all the celebrities; Bob Smart, "a professed Wit and Critic; no Man knows the Intrigues of the Court, the Theatres, or City better"; Sir Conjecture Possitive, a typical Virtuoso of the period,

a gentleman who was never in error in his life and consequently was never convinced. . . . He understands Politics, and Butterflies, Whale fishing and Cricket, Fortifications and Shuttle-cock; Poetry and Wolf Dogs, in short ev'rything in ev'ry art and science from a Pin's head to the Longitude and the Philosopher's Stone better than any man in Europe.

Pasquin re-enters and undertakes to question these "Infallibles who preside at all public Diversions." His first subject is Hydra: "I am, Sir, for my Taste in Public Diversions, Honored with the appellation of the Town—but My real Name is Jack Hydra."

Hydra in turn introduces the characters of the town to Pasquin. Each describes himself in the most favorable terms, and then they turn and rend each other. Miss Diana Single-Life, Miss Bashful, and Miss Brilliant indulge in an orgy of defamations until none has a shred of character left. When this display is finally ended Hydra introduces Solomon Common-Sense—Fielding's typical common-sense character:

This, Mr. Pasquin, is a plain honest Citizen. He is called honest Solomon Common Sense; If you can please him, and make him your Friend, he can influence a large number in your Favour: which will be of more Service

<sup>10</sup> The names "Pasquin" and "Marforio" were frequently used as symbols, usually by political writers. They refer to the two statues supposed to have stood in Rome. They were credited with having engaged in sharp verbal combat, Pasquin challenging Marforio and the latter making reply. John Rich made use of the device in a play written in 1736 called *Marforio*, which was a reply to Fielding's attack on his pantomimes in *Pasquin*.

to you than the Approbation of all the petti Maitres, Critics, and Wou'd be Witts, from St. James's to White Chappel.

Common Sense makes a speech commending Pasquin, and the first act closes.

The second act opens with Marforio bringing in a new batch of culprits. He has gone to "the other theatre," that is, to Drury Lane, and captured Miss Gigggle, who had been sitting in a box witnessing a tragedy, laughing, creating a disturbance "because several of the audience were ridiculous enough to cry at it."<sup>11</sup> On his way back he picked up Lady Lucy Loveit, a woman of Fashion, who was about to step into her chair to go to the masquerade at Lady High-Life's, and who promises to let Pasquin into "the Secrets of every Intrigue, Family, and Character, from Pall Mall to Grosvenor Square." All the fine ladies again launch into an exchange of abusive speeches.

In all this there is only the briefest reference to Fielding's skirmish with the Grub Street wits, and, although there is evidence enough that Macklin knew what was going on, he is definitely not taking sides. In his opening speech Pasquin describes London:

. . . This Magazine of all the World! this Nurse of Trade! this Region of Liberty! this School of Arts and Sciences . . . Mother Midnights, Termagants, Clare Market, Robin Hood Orators, Drury Lane Journals, Inspectors, Fools and Drawcansirs, daily Tax the Public of Virtue of the Strangeness and the Monstrosity, or Delicacy of their Nature or Genius.

Mother Midnight was the keeper of a booth in Clare Market where she exhibited animal shows and other entertainments, and Christopher Smart adopted her name as his pseudonym; Orator Henley's booth was also in Clare Market, and it was there that the Robinhoodians met; "Roxana Termagant" was the signature Bonnell Thornton used in his articles on Fielding in the *Drury-Lane Journal*; the Inspector was Fielding's chief enemy John Hill, who so signed his leaders in the *Advertiser*; "Fool" was the signature used by the author of the *London Gazetteer*. Macklin again avoids taking sides in the controversy when he introduces Miss Brilliant as the lady who "is intimate with Garrick, is known to

<sup>11</sup> P. 38. Fielding mentions a number of times in his writings the people who interfere with performances by laughing aloud in the wrong places, and drawing the attention of the audience from the play. He has a paper on the subject in C. G. J., February 15, 1752.

the Fool, Corresponds with Sir Alexander Drawcansir, and had writ several admired Inspectors," thus connecting her impartially with all the principal parties to the quarrel. Miss Brilliant then offers to present Pasquin to these gentlemen.

Even more closely connected with Fielding's current activities is the closing episode of the play, which involves the gambler, Count Hunt-Bubble. The Count storms behind the scenes, and when Pasquin goes out to investigate, the irate man of fashion beats him up for daring to censure people of quality. Pasquin charges that he is a sharper and a common gamester, and reads a petition against him and his kind. Common Sense approves the censor's action:

Mr. Pasquin, your bringing such men to justice is a Public Good and deserves Public thanks. They are characters that all men detest, and that all men wish to see punished.

*Pas:* Sir you don't know half the villainy of these men. Play, in its most honorable commerce, is a pernicious vice, but as Luxury, Fashion, and avarice have improved it all over Europe, it has now become an avowed system of Fraud and Ruin. The virtuous and Honorable who scorn advantage are a constant prey to the vicious and dishonorable who never Play without one, nor does the Vice Stop here; for the Sharper having stripped his Bubble of his estate, he next corrupts his mind by making him a Decoy-Duck in order to retrieve his Fortune as he lost it. And from an indigent Virtuous Bubble, the Noble Youth becomes an affluent vicious Sharper.

*Com:* The Observation is but too true; and it is a pity the Legislature do not contrive some speedy Method to put an Effectual Stop to such impious Practices.

*Pas:* Thus, instead of Virtue, Honour, and Noble Sentiments being sown in the minds of Youth, they are tainted with Fraud and Treachery; and those who should be the Support and Ornament of their Country, are the Confederates of Men, who wou'd be a disgrace to the worst of Countries in the worst of Times.

Count Hunt-Bubble accuses him of uttering a libel, to which Pasquin replies:

Sir it is you that libel by your application. My charge is not against any particular Person, Degree, Rank, or Set of Men but against known profess'd Sharpers: who, under the Mask of Honour, Amusement, and Friendship, dayly Commit Crimes that deserve the Hangman's lash rather than the satyrist's.

This is the kind of attack on hypocrisy we find throughout Field-



ing's works, and this is his customary way of defending his rôle of satirist and critic.

In January, 1751, Fielding had published his *Enquiry into the Causes of the Late Increase of Robbers*, and in the same month the King, in a speech from the Throne, recommended legislation against these "outrages and violence." Parliament adjourned without taking action, but public opinion was stirred and it was obvious that something must be done. Fielding's pamphlet attracted a good deal of attention.

Macklin was certainly familiar with the pamphlet. Its third section was entitled "Of Gaming among the Vulgar; a Third Consequence of their Luxury." Fielding says he has "only the inferior part of Mankind" under consideration, but he lashes those great men who indulge in the vice, and who, by their power "are beyond the reach of any, unless Capital Laws," and begs that they keep this popular vice to themselves, and not admit Sharpers to their society:

I am well apprized that this is not much the case with Persons of the first Figure; but to Gentlemen (and especially of the younger sort) of the Second Degree, these Fellows have much too easy an access. Particularly at the several public places (I might have said Gaming Places) in this Kingdom, too little Care is taken to prevent the Union of Company; and Sharpers of the lowest kind have frequently there found admission to their superiours, upon no other pretence or Merit than that of a laced Coat, and with no other Stock than that of Assurance.<sup>12</sup>

His picture is very much like Pasquin's in the play:

Some few of these Fellows, by luckily falling in with an egregious Bubble, some thoughtless young Heir, or more commonly Heiress, have succeeded in a manner which, if it may give some Encouragement to others to imitate them, should, at the same time, as strongly admonish all Gentlemen and Ladies to be cautious with whom they mix in Public Places, and to avoid the Sharper as they would a Pest.<sup>13</sup>

*The Covent Garden Theatre* was first advertised on March 13 and performed on April 8. Between these dates, on March 26, Parliament passed "An Act for the better Preventing Thefts and Robberies and for regulating Places of Public Entertainment and punishing Persons Keeping Disorderly Houses." The provisions of this act duplicate the preventive measures outlined by Fielding

<sup>12</sup> *Enquiry*, London, 1751, p. 22.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 24.

in the *Enquiry*, and Macklin made as much use as he could of the public interest in the problem.

The play ends with a peroration in which Pasquin defends himself as a critic of society and a satirist:

Gratitude and public Spirit, are the two Noblest Passions, that ever warm'd the Heart of Man, or fired the Poets Imagination. They should be the Springs of every Public Character, and are this Night of Pasquin; Inspired by them he has dar'd to laugh at Female Folly and to lash a Noble Vice that Lords it in Our most Polite Assemblies. For which, he who was late a Judge and Public Censor in Turn, now trembles at your Dread Tribunal. The first and last appeal of Players, Poets, Statesmen, Fiddlers, Fools, Philosophers and Kings. If by the boldness of his Satyr, or the daring Novelty of his Plan and Fable he has Offended, He ought to meet with some degree of Candour as his offense was the effect of a Noble Gratitude, and an Over-heated Zeal to please His Noble Guests and Patrons, whom he scorn'd to treat with Vulgar Cates—Season'd and Serv'd up with Flattery and Common Dramatic Art. For this boldness of his Satyr, this is his Defense.

The play has little to recommend it as a play. There is no plot, and the author, sensitive to this lack, makes his characters call attention to it on several occasions. There is little action. Pasquin stands upon the stage, permitting these people, who personify the vices and follies of the fashionable world, to pass in review and betray themselves, commenting on them and censuring them. Then with a bow to the audience he retires.

However, the sketches of people are shrewd, and drawn with spirit. Moreover, Pasquin is justly and significantly portrayed—the acute and usually benign critic who believes that a complete portrayal of the follies of the world is the first step toward curing them. Macklin may have had cause, as Cross suggests, to be annoyed with Fielding at this time. If so it is to his credit that, in spite of provocation, he portrayed Fielding, Pasquin, and Drawcansir sympathetically in their most familiar rôle.

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## JOSEPH WARTON'S CLASSIFICATION OF ENGLISH POETS

An interesting feature of Joseph Warton's *Essay on Pope* (1756) is a classification of English poets into four groups according to poetic merit. The first and highest group includes "our only three sublime and pathetic poets"—Shakespeare, Milton, and Spenser. The second includes "such as possessed the true poetical genius, in a more moderate degree, but had noble talents for moral and ethical poesy." In the third are placed "men of wit, of elegant taste, and some fancy in describing familiar life," and in the lowest class are ranked "the mere versifiers, however smooth and mellifluous some of them may be thought."

The definitions of these classes remain substantially the same through the *Essay's* five editions, but Mr. MacClintock has shown<sup>1</sup> that in Warton's second edition, 1762, so many poets are shifted from one class to another that the character of the grouping is radically changed. Mr. MacClintock tabulates these changes as follows:

	1756	1762
Class I	Spenser Shakespeare Milton "And then, at proper intervals," Otway Lee	Spenser Shakespeare Milton
Class II	Dryden Donne Denham Cowley Congreve	Dryden Prior Addison Cowley Waller Garth Fenton Gay Denham Parnell
Class III	Prior Waller Parnell	Butler Swift Rochester

<sup>1</sup> W. D. MacClintock, *Joseph Warton's Essay on Pope, A History of the Five Editions* (Chapel Hill, 1933), pp. 57-8.

Swift  
Fenton

Donne  
Dorset  
Oldham

Class IV      Unchanged

Mr. MacClintock includes this revision among those which imply "a genuine growth in taste, in critical acumen or range, and in the use of new information to modify preceding points of view." The first version, he says, contains critical mistakes which "are many and reveal sad limitations in his critical attainments. It will be seen, however, that he shows marked improvement in his revision six years later."<sup>2</sup>

It is interesting that this revision, the most striking example Mr. MacClintock is able to provide of the growth of Warton's critical ability, should exactly follow suggestions made in a magazine review of the *Essay's* first edition. Mr. MacClintock mentions this review—in the *Monthly Review*, XIV (1756), 528-54, and XV (1756), 52-78—and quotes a sentence from it,<sup>3</sup> but he seems not to have noticed two most interesting facts: first, that a dozen or more of its critical judgments are plagiarized from a review by Dr. Johnson which had appeared a month earlier in the *Literary Magazine*; and secondly, that its criticism of Warton's classification of the poets was the basis for his revision in 1762.

A few examples will show the dependence of this reviewer upon Johnson's earlier notice:

Warton, on Pope's *Windsor Forest*: "Rural beauty in general, and not the peculiar beauties of the forest of Windsor, are here described" (*Essay*, 1756, p. 20).

Johnson:

"He must inquire, whether Windsor Forest has, in reality, any thing peculiar" (*Works*, London, 1816, ii. 359).

*Monthly Review*:

"But it ought first to be inquired, whether Windsor-Forest has in reality any peculiar beauties, and whether Pope has omitted these" (XIV, 546).

Other parallels: The mind, not the ear, is offended by repeated rhymes on the same vowel (Johnson, 363; *Review*, XV, 56). Somerville's *Chace* is more detailed than the chase passage in *Windsor Forest* because that was Somerville's whole subject (Johnson, 359; *Review*, XIV, 545).

The identity of these remarks with Johnson's would lead one to suspect that Johnson had written both reviews, were it not that

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 57-8.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 24-7.

Griffiths, editor of the *Monthly*, ascribed the notice to Dr. James Grainger, author of *The Sugar Cane*.<sup>4</sup> Furthermore, the reviewer says in making one of his borrowed criticisms, "as another writer words it," thence continuing with Johnson's remark.<sup>5</sup> He also speculates on the possibility that Warton may be the author of the anonymous *Essay*, concluding that he probably is not;<sup>6</sup> Johnson knew that Warton was the author.<sup>7</sup>

Grainger's notice is not entirely plagiarized. Johnson's review is twelve pages long; that in the *Monthly*, expanded by quotation from the *Essay* and by several original criticisms, is fifty-two pages long. Its most valuable original comment is on Warton's classification of the poets. The review suggests five possible changes, involving eight poets; all of these changes, and no others, are made by Warton in 1762. These suggestions and Warton's changes in response to them are here summarized:

1. The reviewer objects to placing Otway and Lee in Class I, where they are ahead of Dryden. In 1762 the two dramatists are dropped from the list.
2. The reviewer remarks that in one place Warton refers to Donne as a mere man of wit or man of sense, but that in the classification of poets he is ranked in Class II. In 1762 Donne is demoted to Class III.
3. Denham, the reviewer says, ought certainly to be ahead of Donne, though below Prior and Fenton. In 1762 Denham is allowed to remain in Class II, but Donne is moved down and Prior and Fenton are moved up into Class II, so that Denham is below them.
4. The reviewer thinks Congreve much overrated by inclusion in Class II. Warton removes him entirely in the second edition.
5. Finally, Parnell ought to be higher, but not too high. He is raised from third place in Class III to the last place in Class II.<sup>8</sup>

Warton's indebtedness to his critic seems to be demonstrated by a sentence he adds to the classification in the second edition. The reviewer had said that Warton was not only unfortunate in his arrangement of the poets but had also left out many of the most important ones; in 1762 Warton replies to this charge, saying, "This enumeration is not intended as a complete catalogue of

<sup>4</sup> Nichols, *Illustrations*, VII (1848), p. 226, note. Confirmed by B. C. Nangle, *The Monthly Review* (Oxford, 1934), p. 18.

<sup>5</sup> *Monthly Review*, XIV, 548.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, 536.

<sup>7</sup> John Wooll, *Biographical Memoirs of Joseph Warton* (London, 1806), pp. 238-9.

<sup>8</sup> *Monthly Review*, XIV, 534-6.

writers, and in their proper order [i. e., within the classes, although they are now in fact exactly in the order suggested by the reviewer], but only to mark out briefly the different species of our celebrated authors."

That Warton's revision should so exactly follow the reviewer's suggestions may be thought to imply a commendable willingness to take advantage of criticism, but such a growth in taste and critical acumen as Mr. MacClintock finds is certainly dubious. The revision is interesting too as it illustrates Warton's lack of independence, one may almost say of respect for his own abilities and judgments, which appears with almost equal clarity elsewhere in the *Essay* and in his other writings.

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#### JONSON'S "ODE ON MORISON" AND SENECA'S *EPISTULAE MORALES*

An interesting example of Ben Jonson's borrowing from the classics is found in his "Pindaric Ode," addressed to Sir Lucius Cary upon the death of their friend, Sir Henry Morison, and included by the poet in *Underwoods*. The central idea of the poem and many of its actual lines are taken from the ninety-third epistle of Seneca's *Epistulae Morales*, the theme of which is that life should not be measured by length of years but by accomplishment of worthy deeds. The better to illustrate Jonson's borrowings, I am reprinting from his poem stanzas 3 to 7 inclusive, parallelling them with the significant passages from Seneca.<sup>1</sup>

*Actu illam [vitam]  
metiamur, non tempore.*

*Quid illum octoginta  
anni iuvant per inertiam  
exacti? Non vixit iste,  
sed in vita moratus est,*

*For what is life, if measur'd by the space,  
Not by the act?*

*Or masked man, if valued by his face,  
Above his fact?*

*Here's one outliv'd his peers,  
And told forth fourscore years:  
He vexed time, and busied the whole state;  
Troubled both foes and friends;*

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<sup>1</sup> The text of Seneca is from the Loeb Classical Library edition. The text of Jonson's poem is taken from Gifford's edition; I have omitted the stanzaic markings: strophe, antistrophe, etc.



*nec sero mortuus est, sed  
diu.*

*Octoginta annis vixit.  
Interest, mortem eius ex  
quo die numeres.*

*At ille obiit viridis.  
Sed officia boni civis,  
boni amici, boni filii ex-  
cutus est; in nulla parte  
cessavit. Licet aetas eius  
imperfecta sit, vita per-  
fecta est.*

*Octoginta annis vixit.  
Immo octoginta annis  
fuit, nisi forte sic vixisse  
eum dicis, quomodo di-  
cuntur arbores vivere.*

*Quemadmodum in mi-  
nore corporis habitu po-  
test homo esse perfectus,  
sic et in minore temporis  
modo potest vita esse  
perfecta.*

But ever to no ends:  
*What did this stirrer but die late?*  
How well at twenty had he fallen or stood!  
For three of his fourscore he did no good.

He enter'd well by virtuous parts,  
Got up, and thriv'd with honest arts.  
He purchased friends, and fame, and honours then,  
And had his noble name advanc'd with men;  
But weary of that flight,  
He stoop'd in all men's sight  
To sordid flatteries, acts of strife,  
*And sunk in that dead sea of life,*  
*So deep, as he did then death's waters sup,*  
But that the cork of title buoy'd him up.

*Alas! but Morison fell young:*  
He never fell,—thou fall'st, my tongue.  
He stood a soldier to the last right end,  
A perfect patriot and a noble friend;  
But most, a virtuous son.  
All offices were done

*By him, so ample, full, and round,*  
In weight, in measure, number, sound,  
*As, though his age imperfect might appear,*  
*His life was of humanity the sphere.*

Go now, and tell our days summ'd up with fears,  
And make them years;  
Produce thy mass of miseries on the stage,  
To swell thine age:

Repeat of things a throng,  
To shew thou *hast been* long,  
*Not liv'd*; for life doth her great actions spell,  
By what was done and wrought  
In season, and so brought  
To light: her measures are, how well  
Each syllabe answer'd, and was form'd, how fair;  
These make the lines of life, and that's her air!

It is not *growing like a tree*  
In bulk, doth make men better be;  
Or standing long an oak, three hundred year,  
To fall a log at last, dry, bald, and sear:

A lily of a day,  
Is fairer far, in May,  
Although it fall and die that night;  
It was the plant and flower of light.  
*In small proportions we just beauties see;*  
*And in short measures, life may perfect be.*

Most of the parallels are sufficiently obvious. Each author compares an octogenarian who has passed a profitless existence to a young man who has led a good life during his brief span of years. Jonson's line, "His life was of humanity the sphere," reproduces the meaning of Seneca's "*vita perfecta est*," since the sphere is considered the most perfect of forms. His description of the old man who dies late but has long been "sunk in that dead sea of life" is an interesting paraphrase of Seneca's lines on the man who "has not lived but has tarried in life, who is not lately dead but has been dead for a long time." In a similar vein is his borrowing of Seneca's ironic distinction between verbs: "He has *lived* eighty years! Rather he has *been* (existed) eighty years." In the latter part of the same sentence the comparison of such "living" to the insensate existence of a tree gives Jonson the theme of the finest stanza in his poem; the introduction of the perfect but short-lived lily is his own addition. In the last two lines of the stanza he returns to Seneca, one line being a paraphrase and the other an exact translation from that author.

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#### "MEMORANDUMS OF THE IMMORTAL BEN"

Herford and Simpson have printed, among "Contemporary Notes and Records" concerning Jonson, a document known as "Memorandums of the Immortal Ben."<sup>1</sup> The "Memorandums" are written on the last leaf of a copy of Jonson's *Catiline* printed in 1674. Dr. Bang of Louvain, who owned the volume, published in 1906 a facsimile of the page of "Memorandums," together with a transcript and commentary.<sup>2</sup> He believed that the entries rest on notes in Jonson's own hand. Mr. Simpson called attention, in the same place, to another version of the "Memorandums," printed by Edward Pugh in 1807.<sup>3</sup> Pugh introduced them into a description of the Devil Tavern with the following statement:

<sup>1</sup> C. H. Herford and Percy Simpson, *Ben Jonson*, I (1925), 188-189.

<sup>2</sup> *MLR.*, I, 111-115.

<sup>3</sup> David Hughson [Edward Pugh], *London*, IV, 40.

In an antient manuscript preserved at Dulwich college, are some of this comic writer's memoranda; which prove beyond dispute, that he owed a great part of his inspiration to *Old Sack*.

In the Oxford *Ben Jonson* Mr. Simpson has printed a full collation of the two versions, following Dr. Bang's manuscript except where words have been clipped away, but recording all Pugh's variations. Rather surprisingly, the document is treated as though it were to be accepted at its face value, with no warning to the reader that it does not stand on the same footing as the notes of Drummond, Aubrey, and Plume. Sir Edmund Chambers in a review commented with his usual acuteness:<sup>4</sup> "In the interests of controversy, I venture to suggest to the learned editors that this is a palpable eighteenth-century fake." Mr. Simpson replied in defense of the document, holding that "it seems to echo traditional gossip and even to convey some scraps of Jonson's talk crudely reported in the first person."<sup>5</sup>

The "Memorandums" uphold a very simple thesis: that when Jonson drank good claret or sack, he wrote good plays, and that when his wine was bad "the Tale of a Tub, the Devil is an Ass, and some others of low Comedy, were written by poor Ben Johnson." This purely physiological theory of dramatic inspiration suggests rather a literary exercise than personal reminiscences by Jonson. At my first reading of the "Memorandums" the style struck a familiar chord in my mind; it reminded me, not of Jonson, but of the imaginary recollections common in eighteenth-century essay-periodicals. Accordingly I resolved to look through the numerous periodicals that followed the *Spectator*; and in the very first to which I turned, the *Censor*, I found the source of the "Memorandums."

The *Censor* was written by Lewis Theobald under the assumed name of "Ben Johnson."<sup>6</sup> The first number, dated April 11, 1715, begins: "Being lineally descended from *Benjamin Johnson* of surly Memory, whose Name as well as a considerable Portion of his Spirit, without one Farthing of Estate, I am Heir to; I took

<sup>4</sup> *The Library*, September, 1925, p. 181.

<sup>5</sup> *Ben Jonson*, III (1927), 608.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Whalley in editing Jonson used Theobald's copy of Jonson with his notes, and Theobald answered questions on Jonson for Thomas Birch (Richard Foster Jones, *Lewis Theobald* [1919], pp. 212, 246).

up a Resolution to let the world know, that there is still a poor Branch of that *Immortal Family* remaining. . . ." The author writes in the third number: "I can assure them that my Great *Ancestour*, throughout the Scene of his Life, preserv'd a just Notion of Religious Duties," a statement illustrated by two anecdotes. Number fourteen, under date of May 11, 1715, is devoted to proving that "None are more indebted to the *Grape* than Poets." Horace, says Theobald, asserts the poet's "*Hereditary Right* to drinking," handed down from Homer and Ennius. "That my Reader may see, our *English Poets* have used the same Privilege with as good Success," the essayist continues, "I shall present him with a few short Memorandums of my great Ancestor *Ben Johnson*, which have been preserved with great Care in our Family." The original text of the "Memorandums," from which both Dr. Bang's manuscript and Pugh's inaccurate version are evidently copied, is as follows:<sup>7</sup>

*Mem.* I laid the Plot of my *Volpone*, and wrote most of it, after a Present of Ten Dozen of *Palm Sack*,<sup>8</sup> from my very good Lord T—r; That Play I am positive will last to Posterity, and be acted, when I and Envy are Friends, with Applause.

*Mem.* The first *Speech* in my *Cataline*,<sup>9</sup> spoken by *Scylla's Ghost*, was writ after I parted from my *Boys* at the *Devil-Tavern*; I had drunk well that Night, and had brave Notions. There is one Scene in that Play which I think is Flat; I resolve to mix no more Water with my Wine.

*Mem.* Upon the Twentieth of May, the *King*, Heaven reward him, sent me one Hundred Pounds; I went often to the *Devil* about that Time, and wrote my *Alchymist* before I had spent *Fifty Pounds* of it.

*Mem.* At *Christmas* my Lord B— took me with him into the Country; There was great Plenty of excellent *Claret-wine*, a new *Character* offered it self to me here, upon which I wrote my *Silent Woman*. My Lord

<sup>7</sup> *Censor* (1717), I, 102-103.

<sup>8</sup> The name of this wine in itself indicates the date of the document. The first quotation in the *NED.* for "palm" as a variety of sack is from William King's *Art of Cookery* in 1708. I find in the *Daily Courant* for August 13, 1716, the following advertisement: "Just Bottled off, True PALM SACK, perfectly fine, genuine, and of an excellent racy Flavour; no Canary imported this Year to compare with it." As late as December 31 the same advertisement announced the wine as "Just Bottled off"!

<sup>9</sup> Theobald may have known the verses cited by Simpson from Robert Baron's *Pocula Castalia*, referring to *Catiline*:

How could that Poem heat & vigour lack  
When each line oft cost BEN a glasse of sack.

smiled, and made me a noble Present upon reading the first *Act* to him, ordering at the same time a good Quantity of the *Wine* to be sent to *London* with me when I went, and it lasted me till my Work was finished.

*Mem.* The *Tale* of a *Tub*, the *Devil* is an *Ass*, and some others of low Comedy, were written by poor *Ben Johnson*. I remember that I did not succeed in any one Composition for a whole Winter; it was that Winter honest *Ralph* the Drawer<sup>10</sup> died, and when I and my *Boys* drank bad wine at the *Devil*.

"I think," the essay ends, "that these *Memorandums* of the immortal *Ben* are sufficient to justify the Opinion of *Horace*, and I do assure my Reader that they are faithfully transcribed from the Original." Theobald, of course, did not expect that anyone would take his innocent fictions seriously. But some eighteenth-century reader happened to copy them into his quarto of *Catiline*, and Pugh or some informant of his pretended as their source "an antient manuscript preserved at Dulwich college." Thus fortified by the apparent authority of manuscripts, which often win a suspension of disbelief not accorded to printed books, the "*Memorandums*" succeeded in imposing upon even some of the best of modern scholars.

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### CALDERON, BOURSALT, AND RAVENSCROFT

A curious example of French literature as an intermediary between Spanish and English is offered by Boursault's *Ne pas croire ce qu'on void, histoire espagnole*, a satirico-romantic novel published in 1670, 1672, 1677, and 1739. I have some suggestions to make in regard to its sources and to its relation to a prose work and a play written in English.

Judging by the title and the dedication, M. Martinenche<sup>1</sup> sup-

<sup>10</sup> As Simpson pointed out (*MLR.*, I, 115), Ralph is mentioned in Aubrey's manuscript account of Jonson and in the actor George Powell's epistle before *The Treacherous Brothers* (1690), where Ralph is described as "the honest Drawer that drew him good Sack." Theobald could obviously have read of Ralph in Powell.

<sup>1</sup> *Molière et le théâtre espagnol*, Paris, 1906, pp. 204-5. Alfred Hoffmann, *Edme Boursault*, Metz, 1902, pp. 76-80, refers to the work as a Spanish translation, but makes no attempt to identify the original.

posed that Boursault had translated a Spanish novel, though he admitted that he had been unable to discover the original. Boursault, indeed, calls his work

une Traduction Espagnole, que je ne garentis pas trop fidelle. . . . Je n'ose vous dire où j'ay pris ce que je vous presente, de peur que l'Original ne vous fasse avoir du dégoût pour la Coppie . . . j'en ay mesme déguisé le Titre, & transposé quelques-uns des Incidens. . . . Autorisé par l'exemple du plus habile Traducteur de nôtre Siecle, (j'entends habile pour faire beaucoup de besogne en peu de temps) je n'ay point fait de difficulté de sauter tout ce que je n'entendis pas.<sup>2</sup>

But he does not state that his original was a novel, or deny that it may have been a play or even two plays. Now most of his work is devoted to two stories closely intertwined: a mantilla-tale in which Elvire pursues Gusman, makes him fall in love with her both when she is disguised and when she is not, becomes her own rival, and finally induces him to marry her; and a tale concerned with Diego and Blanche, who are constantly quarreling and have to contend with the opposition of Blanche's father and the rivalry of Elvire's brother.<sup>3</sup> Both of these tales had been employed and similarly combined by Thomas Corneille in his comedy entitled *les Engagemens du hazard*. Except for certain amplifications in the first part of his novel, Boursault follows Thomas so closely that there can be no doubt about his having used his play or its sources, two *comedias* by Calderon. In his preface Thomas Corneille had stated that most of his comedy was taken from *Los Empeños de un Acaso*, but that his fourth act came from *Casa con dos puertas*, a play that resembles *Los Empeños* closely. If Boursault read the preface of *les Engagemens*, he must have received from it a suggestion for turning to the two Spanish plays, while Thomas Corneille may

<sup>2</sup> This passage was copied for me by Dr. Chandler Beall from the dedication of the 1670 edition. The dedication is lacking in the edition of 1677, which I have followed elsewhere.

<sup>3</sup> There is also a brief subordinate plot, the most comic portion of the novel, in which avaricious Francisque, Elvire's temporary fiancé, misled by his uncle into believing that the latter is dead, seeks to force the older man to be as good as his word and leave him his fortune. This episode became the source of a French play, *l'Héritier imaginaire*, composed by the actor Nanteuil and published at Hannover in 1674 when he was acting at the ducal court; cf. my *History of French Dramatic Literature*, Part III, pp. 797-800.



well be the French translator mentioned in the passage just cited as doing much translating in a short time.<sup>4</sup>

When *les Engagemens* and *Los Empeños* differ, Boursault follows his French colleague,<sup>5</sup> but he leaves him when he is adapting *Casa con dos puertas*. In the latter play the lover and the veiled lady meet early in the morning, she subsequently overhears his conversation with her brother, reproaches him with having talked about their meetings, and assures him that she is not the woman her brother loves. These details are not in Thomas Corneille's play. Moreover, in *Casa con dos puertas*, the young man says to the girl, "antes que galán vuestro Fui de Don Félix amigo" (II, 3), while the corresponding character in the novel says (p. 80), "j'estois redevable à Dom Ruis avant que de vous avoir jamais veuë," and there is no equivalent of this passage in Thomas Corneille's play. Boursault must, then, have used *Casa con dos puertas*. Let us see whether his remarks in the text of the novel about his Spanish original apply to it. On p. 73 he declares that he learned from the Spanish original that Elvire entered her closet when she wished to listen to her brother's conversation, and so she does in *Casa*, I, 5. On p. 128 Boursault points out that the Spanish original does not contain a comparison that he makes, and, indeed, no such comparison is found in Calderon's play. On p. 232 he writes, "Je me donne au Diable, disoit-il en luy-mesme, ou l'Original Espagnol a menti, si je vois. . . ." In this situation Thomas Corneille's lover cries, "O regret! o douleur!"; the lovers in *Los Empeños*, "¡ay de mí!"; the lovers in *Casa con dos puertas*, "¡Fuego de Dios en el querer bien!" The fourth allusion is found in the remark, "où l'Original Espagnol dit le plus honnêtement qu'il peut qu'un grand cours de ventre rendoit sa presence necessaire." No such situation is suggested by Calderon, but it is quite likely that Boursault is merely laying the blame on the Spaniard for the inelegant situation that he wishes to create, but not to be held responsible for.

<sup>4</sup> He had recently composed two adaptations of Spanish plays, *le Baron d'Albikrac* and *la Comtesse d'Orgueil*.

<sup>5</sup> Elvire is engaged to a man she does not love at the beginning of both French works, but not in *Los Empeños*. A maid is named Béatrix in the former, but not in the latter. A valet is stabbed in the Spanish play, but beaten in the corresponding situation in the French works.

It seems, then, that, when Boursault talks of his Spanish original, he is either joking, as in this last case, or is referring to *Casa con dos puertas*, and that, when he declares in his preface that he is translating from Spanish, he means that he has done so in part directly, in part with the help of Thomas Corneille's comedy and "autorisé" by this dramatist's example. His statement that his translation is not faithful may be due to the fact that he added the minor plot of Elvire-Francisque, a little historical background, certain humorous comments, and a few episodes, especially those of the rendezvous that the veiled lady does not keep, of the valet's search for the veiled lady, the bath incident, and Elvire's excursion with her brother into the country. It is most improbable that there is a Spanish novel that was Boursault's source, not only because it has never been discovered, but because it would have to include just the parts of *Los Empeños* and of *Casa con dos puertas* that Thomas Corneille utilized. No scholar would suggest that a Spanish author, in the 1660's, derived a novel from a French dramatist, nor could the unknown Spanish novel have been Thomas Corneille's source, unless the French dramatist made an entirely erroneous statement about the origin of his own play. The resemblance between a passage in Boursault's novel and *Pourceaugnac*, which M. Martinenche considers significant, can readily be explained as an instance of Boursault's borrowing from Molière.

*Ne pas croire ce qu'on void* was translated into English with the title, *Deceptio Visus: or Seeing and Believing are Two Things, a Pleasant Spanish History, Faithfully Translated*.<sup>6</sup> "Faithfully," perhaps, in intent, but not in fact, for the translator lacked a sense of humor and his French was insufficient for his task. At times he misunderstands.<sup>7</sup> For instance, Boursault's cowardly valet, when struck in the face, makes no effort to draw his sword and two very devout friars call his attention to his weapon, whereupon the valet tells them to mind their own business and threatens them with the Inquisition for inciting him to revenge. The English-

<sup>6</sup> London, John Starkey, 1671. That this work was a translation of Boursault was indicated by F. P. Rolfe, *PMLA*, XLIX (1934), 1081.

<sup>7</sup> *Brouillon*, brisk; *tout au plus*, as good or better; *estoit déjà debout*, got up on one end; *soubrette*, virgin; *fontaine attendant un égoût*, fountain throwing up water into the air; *biaisa*, bowed very low; *vieux garçon*, ancient blithe gentleman; *se donna cinq ou six coups de peigne*, knocks at the door with it (a sword). Cf. *D. V.*, pp. 3, 50, 58, 148, 75, 108, 121, 191.

man translates (p. 36) *Deux tres-devots Religieux* by "Two or three persons of the reformed Religion," attempting to explain the reference to the Inquisition by turning friars into Protestants! Now Langbaine<sup>8</sup> held that *Deceptio Visus* was the source of Ravenscroft's *Wrangling Lovers*. It is certainly nearer to the latter, as Dr. E. T. Norris<sup>9</sup> has shown, than is the *Engagemens du hazard*, but it remains to be determined whether Ravenscroft followed Boursault directly or used *Deceptio Visus*. The only way to settle the question was to compare the three texts. This I did, with the result that, although Ravenscroft, writing a play, altered his source freely, there is now enough evidence to establish the fact that he based his comedy directly on Boursault.

The joke about the Inquisition is transferred by Ravenscroft to a servant-girl, but is used with the same comic effect as by Boursault, whereas the point was missed by the translator. One of Boursault's heroines (p. 58) is said to have asked her lover "ce qu'il avoit"; *Deceptio Visus* (p. 44) gives this as "what he would have," but Ravenscroft understands the French and writes, "what is the matter, Sir?" *Profiter de* becomes in *Deceptio Visus* "inform of," in Ravenscroft's play "profit by." *M'est venu embrasser* (p. 248) is given in *Deceptio Visus* (p. 195) as "embrace me about the knees" [*venu = genou?*], by Ravenscroft as "embraced me."<sup>10</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *English Dramatic Poets*, Oxford, 1691, pp. 423-4. He thought that the play was derived from a "Spanish Romance in 8°. translated and called *Deceptio Visus*." He added that Thomas Corneille wrote a play on the same subject called *les Engagemens du hazard*. Ward, in his article on Ravenscroft in the *DNB*, rejected Langbaine's theory, apparently because he had not himself read *Deceptio Visus*, but accepted his suggestion of Thomas Corneille's play and concluded, as Langbaine had not done, that it was Ravenscroft's source. I am obliged to Dr. E. T. Norris for indicating to me that there is a copy of *Deceptio Visus* in the Newberry Library and for lending me his own copy of the *Wrangling Lovers*.

<sup>9</sup> *The Plays of Edward Ravenscroft*, an unpublished Johns Hopkins dissertation, 1932.

<sup>10</sup> I have found only one case in which R. seems at first to be nearer to the translation than to the original, that in which (p. 88) the valet offers to tell the names of "tous les parens de mon Maistre, depuis son grand Pere, dont on ne peut voir la fin, jusqu'à un petit garçon qu'on mit sur sa porte." *Deceptio Visus* (p. 69) translates *grand Pere* by "great grandfather," omits "dont on ne peut voir la fin," and turns *petit garçon* into "Bastard." Ravenscroft also has "great grandfather," but he adds "and the Lord knows how much further," which seems to be a mistranslation of "dont on ne peut voir la fin," and he makes no mention of a bastard. It seems to me probable that the two English writers independently took

I conclude that when, in his text, Boursault refers to a Spanish original, he means Calderon's *Casa con dos puertas*; that he justifies himself for calling his work an *Histoire espagnole* and for using the expression, "traduction espagnole," by the fact that Thomas Corneille, whom he also followed, was, as he admits, combining *Los Empeños* and *Casa con dos puertas* when he wrote his *Engagemens du hazard*; and that *Ne pas croire ce qu'on void* was directly imitated in England, not only by the author of *Deceptio Visus*, but by Ravenscroft in his *Wrangling Lovers*. When the fact is added that a minor episode in the novel became the source of a French play that was acted and published in Germany, one sees France in this business serving as an international clearing-house, not for ideas, but for entertaining situations.

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#### THE GENESIS OF ALEXANDRIN AS A METRICAL TERM

There has been scant discussion of the genesis of the term "alexandrin" to designate the French twelve-syllable verse. The treatises on versification and the histories of French literature contain, at most, an allusion to its being derived from the name of the *Roman d'Alexandre* and an early example of the use of the word.<sup>1</sup>

*parens* in the sense of "ancestors," misunderstood the clause that followed, and thought that a mere grandfather would not be sufficiently impressive. Hence the "great." It is improbable that R. used both texts, for *Deceptio Visus* does not mention Boursault and passed for 250 years as the translation of a Spanish tale.

<sup>1</sup> See for example: Träger, E. E. (*Geschichte des Alexandriners*, Leipzig, 1889) whose earliest example is 1560; Tobler (*Vom französischen Versbau*, 5th ed., Leipzig, 1910) mentions the earliest known example but does not discuss; Kastner, L. E. (*A History of French Versification*, Oxford, 1903) cites Baudet Harenc and vaguely suggests that the word comes from a late refashioning of the *Roman d'Alexandre*; Voretzsch, K. (*Introduction to the Study of Old French Literature*, translated by du Mont, Halle, 1931) gives the derivation from the *Roman d'Alexandre* and in a paragraph outlines the history of the verse; the following contain data on the dodecasyllable, but no discussion of the genesis of the word "alexandrin": Lanson, *Histoire de la littérature française*, Paris, 1909; Davidson, F., "Origin of the French Alexandrine" in *MLN.*, xvi, 78-83; Chatelain, H.,

Moreover, there are early examples of the term not mentioned in any of the standard dictionaries.<sup>2</sup> Thus it seems worth while to assemble and analyze the pertinent early material.

The dodecasyllable makes its appearance at the beginning of the twelfth century in the *Pèlerinage de Charlemagne*, composed in assonanced *laisses*. Helped, perhaps, by the extension of classical learning in the twelfth century and by its resemblance to the hexameter, it gradually replaced the decasyllable as the epic measure. During and after the last third of the century its triumph was decisive;<sup>3</sup> it is in this period that in the dodecasyllabic verse rhyme appears instead of assonance, which it almost completely supplants. Although the gravity and sonorousness of the twelve-syllable make it definitely an epic line, it is found in compositions of a type for which the octosyllable is the more frequent medium.<sup>4</sup>

In the course of the thirteenth century, the dodecasyllable gained so rapidly that not only was it standard for new epics, but many older ten-syllable poems were recast in the new meter. The few thirteenth-century epics in decasyllables seem to retain this obsolescent form because they follow earlier poems dealing with the same characters.<sup>5</sup>

*Recherches sur le vers français au XV<sup>e</sup> siècle*, Paris, 1908, deals only with rhymes, meters and stanza structure; Grammont, M., *Le vers français*, Paris, 1913, deals with the modern period. The latest work on the earlier French poetic theory, W. F. Patterson's *Three Centuries of French Poetic Theory, A Critical History of the Chief Arts of Poetry in France (1328-1630)*, Ann Arbor, 1935, 2 vols., makes no mention at all of the introduction or early occurrences of the term "alexandrin." For further bibliography, see Thieme, H. P., *Essai sur l'histoire du vers français*, Paris, 1916.

<sup>2</sup> Littré's earliest example is from Ronsard; the *Dictionnaire général* goes back no farther than Geoffroy Tory's *Champ fleury* (1529); Godefroy cites only Baudet Harenc (1432) and Fabri (1521).

<sup>3</sup> Of the epics listed by Gautier (*Epopées françaises*, I, 335-36) slightly more than half are in dodecasyllables, the ten-syllable predominating up to the last third of the century, the twelve-syllable thereafter.

<sup>4</sup> Jean Bodel's *Jeu de St. Nicholas*, rhymed quatrains in three passages; *Bible de sapience* of Hermann de Valenciennes, stanzas of eight lines; *Vie de St. Thomas le martyr* by Guernes de Pont-Ste-Maxence, five-line stanzas; an anonymous miracle story describing a cure worked by the Virgin upon a sick man at the tomb of St. Thomas (cf. *Grundriss*, II, 646), quatrains; *Vie de Ste Euphrosyne*, ten-line stanzas; *Evangile aux femmes*, quatrains; *Ave Maria*, *Agnus Dei*, *Vie de Jehan*, couplets; *Credo*, couplets.

<sup>5</sup> Thirteen out of seventeen are cyclical or continuations of earlier poems.

In the thirteenth century as in the twelfth, the rhymed dodecasyllable appears not only in the epics, but also in works of varied character such as the *Roman de Jules César*, Adam de la Hale's *Jeu de la Feuillée*, Rutebuef's *Miracle de Théophile*, the satirical poems of Robert Sainceriaux<sup>6</sup> and Thomas de Bailleul.<sup>7</sup> It is found also in religious and didactic works<sup>8</sup> to an extent even greater than in the twelfth century. It does not appear in the courtly lyric except in three semi-popular poems by Audefroy.<sup>9</sup>

In the epics, the *laisse* still has a varied number of lines, with rhyme more frequent than assonance. At the end of the twelfth century, rhymed dodecasyllabic couplets<sup>10</sup> make their appearance in the *Vie de Jehan*,<sup>11</sup> and in a *Credo*.<sup>12</sup> Though the quatrain was general in religious and didactic poetry,<sup>13</sup> we also find stanzas of three, five, six, eight, twelve, fourteen and twenty lines.<sup>14</sup>

From the middle of the fourteenth century until the middle of the sixteenth, the alexandrine fell into disuse, doubtless because prose largely took the place of verse in those types where the twelve-syllable had been used. Until the *Pléiade* it occurred only sporadically in a few works.<sup>15</sup> Jean Lemaire de Belges, who used it in a

<sup>6</sup> Sermon on the death of Louis VIII, 1226, quatrains. Cf. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXIII, 416-420.

<sup>7</sup> Poem against Jean d'Angleterre, ca. 1214. Cf. *Hist. Litt. de la France*, XXIII, 412-414.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Naetebus, G., *Die nicht-lyrischen Strophenformen des Altfranzösischen*, Leipzig, 1891, pp. 56-91 for a list.

<sup>9</sup> Bartsch, K., *Altfranzösischen Romanzen und Pastourellen*, Leipzig, 1870, pp. 59-70; cf. Jeanroy, A., *Origines de la poésie lyrique en France*, Paris, 1925, pp. 355-57.

<sup>10</sup> Patterson, *op. cit.*, p. 146 states that "the twelve-syllable couplet was little used after *Le Roman d'Alexandre* until the time of the *Pléiade*." The *Roman d'Alexandre* is in *laissez*, not in couplets, and none of the rare medieval examples of the couplet-form can be shown to antedate it.

<sup>11</sup> This, according to Gaston Paris (G. Paris and A. Bos, ed. *Vie de St. Gilles*, Paris, 1881, p. v), is the earliest example of this form.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Naetebus, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-91. <sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, *passim*.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. some of the poems of King René d'Anjou, *Œuvres*, ed. Le Comte de Quatrebarbes, Angers, 1845, III, 83, 88, 105, etc., rhymed couplets; Coquillard, *Œuvres*, ed. Héricault, C., 1857, I, 3; Jacques Milet's *Destruction de Troyes*, monorhymed *tirades* and rhymed couplets; some fourteenth century reworkings of earlier epics such as *Florent et Octavien* and *Lion de Bourges*; and particularly in the continuations of the Alexander: *Voeux du paon*, *Restor du paon* and *Parfait du paon*.



hundred-line passage of his *Concorde des deux langages* (1511),<sup>16</sup> apparently felt that it was so unfamiliar as to need remark.<sup>17</sup> Marot likewise found it expedient to tell his readers that he had used the Alexandrine in some of the poems forming the collection of *Epigrammes*,<sup>18</sup> and Fabri<sup>19</sup> calls it "une antique maniere de rithmer."

During the period we have been discussing, the epic caesura, which tended to break the flow of the verse by its treatment of the two hemistichs as almost independent lines, was being eliminated.<sup>20</sup> In *Brun de la Montaigne*<sup>21</sup> (14th century) only a few instances of it occur. However, the rejection of this caesura seems to have been stated for the first time in the form of a rule by Fabri in his *Rhétorique* (1521),<sup>22</sup> though applied to the *chant royal*. It also occurs in Etienne Dolet's *Accents de la française* (1540)<sup>23</sup> and in the *Art poétique* (1555)<sup>24</sup> of Jacques Peletier du Mans.<sup>25</sup>

The Alexandrine became prominent again about the middle of the sixteenth century. Ronsard<sup>26</sup> is justified in claiming the honor

<sup>16</sup> *Œuvres de J. L. de B.*, ed. Stecher, J., Louvain, 1885, III, 131.

<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, at the end of the piece he added the statement that he had "composé de rythme Alexandrine . . . laquelle taille jadis avoit grant bruit en France, pource que les prouesses du Roy Alexandre le Grand en sont descrites es anciens Rommans: dont aucuns modernes ne tiennent conte aujourd'hui."

<sup>18</sup> *Œuvres de C. M.*, ed. G. Guiffrey, 1911, IV, 20 ff.

<sup>19</sup> Cited by Godefroy under "alexandrin."

<sup>20</sup> For general studies see Kastner, *RLR.*, 46 (1903), p. 289; Martinon, *RHL.*, XVI (1909), 62 ff.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Paul Meyer, introduction to his edition of *B. de la M., SATF.*, 1875, xiv; Martinon, *RHL.*, XVI, 64.

<sup>22</sup> Ed. Héron, III, 101: "Item, il doit éviter les coupes féminines s'ilz ne sont synalimphes."

<sup>23</sup> Cited by Boulanger, ed. *Art poétique de Jacques Peletier du Mans*, 1930, p. 157, n. 18.

<sup>24</sup> Ed. Boulanger, 1930.

<sup>25</sup> Peletier in his discussion here (p. 156) seems to be the first one to use the word *césure* in French (cf. Kastner, *RLR.*, Vol. 47, p. 7). Ronsard uses the word in his *Art poétique* (ed. Laumonier, VII, 47) in the sense of 'elision' and farther on (*Ibid.*, 60) in the modern meaning. The *Dictionnaire général* for *césure* cites only Ronsard's use of it as 'elision.'

<sup>26</sup> Cf. *Œuvres*, Laumonier, VII, p. 59: "Si ie n'ay commencé ma Franciade en vers alexandrins, lesquels j'ay mis (comme tu sçais) en vogue et honneur, il s'en faut prendre à ceux qui ont puissance de me commander et non à ma volonté."

of having brought it back into popularity.<sup>27</sup> The recrudescence of this poetic form closely corresponding to the classic hexameter coincides with and is no doubt due to the general trend of the century toward classical antiquity.<sup>28</sup> The Pléiade looked upon its use as a continuation of the ancient tradition, for Ronsard in his *Art poétique*<sup>29</sup> compares it to the hexameter. "Les vers alexandrins," he says, "tiennent la place en nostre langue telle que les vers héroïques entre les Grecs et Latins."

During the Middle Ages the dodecasyllable is simply termed "verse of twelve syllables."<sup>30</sup> The first known occurrence of the name "alexandrin" is in the anonymous *Regles de la seconde rethorique*<sup>31</sup> which can be dated between 1411 and 1432.<sup>32</sup> Here it is stated: "Rime alexandrine, pour faire rommans, est pour le present de douze silabes chascune ligne en son masculin et de .xiii. ou feminin."

The term next occurs in Baudet Harenc's *Doctrinal de la seconde rhetorique*<sup>33</sup> (1432), where the author says that this verse is called alexandrine "pour ce que une ligne des fais du roy Alexandre fu faite de ceste taille . . . et doit avoir la ligne masculine .xii. sillabes et la ligne feminine .xiii. sillabes."<sup>34</sup> Geoffroy Tory, in his *Champ fleury* (1529),<sup>35</sup> cites as his authority for the use of the term "alexandrin" the anonymous author of the *Livre des eschez amoureux*, the oldest manuscript of which M. Omont assigns to the middle of the fifteenth century. This work has not been published, but M. Laurent<sup>36</sup> gives the citation in question:

Et par especial les rymes de xii syllables sont a ce conuenables dessus toutes les aultres, et pour ce est cele ryme appelee dauleuns alexandrine pourcee que listoire de Alexandre est presque toute par telle ryme exprimee.

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Franchet, H., *Le poète et son œuvre d'après Ronsard*, Paris, 1923, p. 294.

<sup>28</sup> Lanson, *op. cit.*, 1909, p. 280.

<sup>29</sup> *Œuvres*, Laumonier, VII, 58.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. *Las leys d'amors* (1323-1356), ed. Joseph Anglade, Toulouse, 1919, II, 70.

<sup>31</sup> Published by Langlois, E., in his *Recueil d'arts de la seconde rhétorique*, Paris, 1902, pp. 11-103, and cited by Kastner, *RLR.*, Vol. 47, p. 5.

<sup>32</sup> Langlois, *op. cit.*, pp. xxviii and xli.

<sup>33</sup> Also published by Langlois, *op. cit.*, pp. 104-198 (cf. p. 197).

<sup>34</sup> This is the earliest known statement of the etymology.

<sup>35</sup> Published by G. Cohen. Paris, 1931, III v<sup>o</sup> al. 5.

<sup>36</sup> *Rom.*, LI (1925), 33.

Another fifteenth century treatise containing "alexandrin" is Molinet's *Art de rhétorique* (1493):<sup>87</sup> "Vers alexandrins sont de .xii. ou de .xiii. sillabes. . . . Ilz sont nommez alexandrins pour ce que l'ystoire d'Alexandre fut traitie en ceste forme." The word occurs so frequently from this point forward and has such wide acceptance during the sixteenth century that no further citations need be given.

That the name is derived from the title of the *Roman d'Alexandre* is not subject to serious question. The suggestion by Ménage, repeated in the Academy's *Dictionnaire historique de la langue française* (1884), that it may come from the name of Alexandre de Paris, author of a redaction of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, may be discarded, for, as we have seen, the early users of the term agree in deriving it from the poems.

Since the first occurrence so far found of the term "alexandrin" belongs to the first third of the fifteenth century, the normal assumption is that it was introduced, at the earliest, not long before that date. Its adoption at that time is not surprising when we consider the history of the Alexander poems. From the last third of the twelfth century until 1340,<sup>88</sup> the *Roman d'Alexandre* was a living organism, continually reworked and added to in successive stages of development, beginning with Lambert le Tort, Alexandre de Paris, Gui de Cambrai and Jean le Névelon in the twelfth century, continued by the *Prise de Defur* and the *Voyage d'Alexandre au paradis terrestre* in the thirteenth, and finally given even wider extension in the first half of the fourteenth by several continuations, notable among them being the *Vœux du paon*. The thirty-three surviving manuscripts<sup>89</sup> and the numerous imitations of the *Vœux du paon* prove that this reworking of the Alexander story was the most widely read and influential fourteenth-century work in the twelve-syllable verse. While with the *Parfait du paon*, the period of new Alexander poems came to an end, the old ones continued to be read as is shown by the existence of three manu-

<sup>87</sup> Langlois, *op. cit.*, 214-252 (cf. 223).

<sup>88</sup> Date of Jean de la Mote's *Parfait du paon*, which was not incorporated into the manuscript tradition of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, an indication that the interest in the Alexander material was decreasing.

<sup>89</sup> Cf. R. L. Graeme-Ritchie, *Buik of Alexander*, 1921-29, I, xix ff.; Thomas, A., *Hist. Litt. de la France*, xxxvi, 1924-1927, p. 19; Ham, E. B., "Three neglected mss.," *MLN.*, XLVI, 78-84.

scripts copied as late as the fifteenth century.<sup>40</sup> It would, therefore, be natural for the inventor of the term, whether it was first applied in the fourteenth or the early fifteenth century, to have the Alexander romances and particularly the *Vœux du paon* uppermost in his mind whenever he thought of the dodecasyllable and to apply to it at the same time an adjective based on the name of their hero. "Alexandrin," then, was a normal term for the author who introduced it. The further question presents itself whether, from the standpoint of the literary history of the twelfth century, he was justified in choosing this term: whether the Alexander poems have the priority in the field of the rhymed dodecasyllable.

The first dodecasyllabic Alexander poem, that of Lambert le Tort, can be approximately dated between 1170 and 1178. In the twelfth century, besides the Alexander poem, we have the following epics wholly or in part written in twelve-syllable rhymed verse: *Gui de Nanteuil*, *Mainet*, *Foulques de Candie*, *Fierabras*, *Destruction de Rome*, *Quatre fils Aymon*, *Siège de Barbastre*, *Saisnes*, and some of the Crusade cycle, but of these poems, no one has been assigned a more specific date than the second half or the last third of the century. Therefore, in the present state of our knowledge, we can not establish for any of them a claim to priority over the dodecasyllabic form of the Alexander. The *Roman de Rou*, which belongs to historical rather than to epic writing and which was partly composed in rhymed alexandrines, seems to contain the only narrative material in rhymed dodecasyllables of established priority to the Alexander, for it belongs to the sixth decade of the twelfth century<sup>41</sup> and the Alexander to the seventh. Would there, however, have been any reason for naming the twelve-syllable after Wace's poem? Only one fourth of the *Rou* is in dodecasyllables, and the single manuscript of this part, compared to the twenty-one manuscripts, together with fragments of others, of the Alexander, indicates that the latter was by far the more widely read and influential. It is clear that Wace's earlier date constitutes no adequate ground for objecting to the term "alexandrin."

Such, then, are the more important phases of the early history of the twelve-syllable verse. We have seen that, after the popu-

<sup>40</sup> Cf. Paul Meyer, *Rom.* XI, 288; Graeme-Ritchie, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvi and xxxix.

<sup>41</sup> For the date of the *Rou*, see Voretzsch, *op. cit.*, p. 230 and Gaston Paris, *Rom.* IX, 592 ff.

larity of the dodecasyllable in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries due to the esteem of the public for the Alexander poems, it fell into almost complete disuse during the fourteenth and fifteenth. It was revived by Ronsard and his school after modifications had been made in the caesura, producing a line of twelve or thirteen syllables rather than one of twelve or fourteen. The adjective "alexandrin" was introduced into French to designate this verse form not later than the early years of the fifteenth century; in view of the continued popularity of the twelve-syllable Alexander poems it was the natural term to apply. Finally, since no poem exclusively in dodecasyllables can be shown to have preceded the Alexander, and since none could compete with it in the extent and duration of its popularity, the term is, from all standpoints, suitable.

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#### BYDDING BASE ("OCTOBER" 5)

In the October Eclogue of the *Shepherd's Calendar* Cuddie is reported to have spent the time "in rymes, in ridles, and in bydding base." Editors of the *Calendar* have taken the last phrase to refer to the game of prisoner's base.<sup>1</sup> C. H. Herford also pointed out that *to bid the base* was used in the 16th and 17th centuries in the general meaning of *to challenge* but concluded that "the phrase has here its more special reference to the game; since Mantuan in the corresponding passage . . . speaks of 'wrestling.'"<sup>2</sup>

However, I believe that the challenge of "October" referred to a contest in poetry rather than to physical sport. *Bydding base* stands for the wit-battle between two poets such as the roundelay of Willye and Perigot in the August Eclogue.

Some contemporary occurrences of the phrase *to bid the base* explain the usage. In *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* Julia and Lucetta banter each other with terms drawn from a song-competition, the latter pleading for "love-wounded Proteus" with the following words, "Indeed, I bid the base for Proteus." *Bid the base* has the double meaning of the challenge and the *bass* or under-

<sup>1</sup> See W. L. Renwick, *The Shepherd's Calendar*, London, 1930, p. 216. "It [prisoner's base] is appropriate here, as it was evidently a country game."

<sup>2</sup> *Shepheards Calender*, London, 1895, p. 172.

song of the roundelay.<sup>3</sup> In *Christes Teares over Jerusalem*, 1593, Nashe mentions "sportiue base-bidding Roundelayes" along with "merry-running Madrigals" and "Ballad-singing daunces."<sup>4</sup> *Base-bidding* refers to the challenges and responses of the competition in verse, the melody and the undersong—accompanied here with dancing.<sup>5</sup> Again, in Drayton's *Third Nymphall* Dorilon accepts Doron's challenge to verse-making thus:

Content say I, then bid the base  
Our wits shall runne the Wildgoose chase.<sup>6</sup>

In the Wild-Goose Chase one runner followed another, while in the roundelay one poet *bid the base* or named the dare and the other poet answered with his lines.<sup>7</sup>

Even so Spenser's Cuddie had spent the time, not in playing prisoner's base, but in contests with other shepherds in the roundelay.

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## REVIEWS

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*The Proverb in Ibsen, Proverbial Sayings and Citations as Elements in His Style.* By ANSTEN ANSTENSEN. New York, Columbia University Press, 1936. Pp. xi, 255. \$3.50.

This work, written under the direction of Professor R. H. Fife, offers much more than the usual "proverbs" study. Owing to the many-sided plan employed by the author for the presentation of the material it teaches a great deal about Ibsen as an author.

Dr. Anstensen classifies his material as proverbs, proverbial phrases, allusions, citations, biblical sources, allusions to the Bible, and citations from the Bible. Beginning with *Catiline* he mentions

<sup>3</sup> Act I, Scene 2, 97-8. In his notes to this line in the Arden Shakespeare edition of the play (1906) R. W. Bond raised the question whether the *bid the base* of the *Calendar* referred to "singing or piping competitions."

<sup>4</sup> *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R. B. McKerrow, London, 1904, II, 73.

<sup>5</sup> See also "the first Eclogues" in Book I of Sidney's *Arcadia*.

<sup>6</sup> *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. W. Hebel, Oxford, 1932, III, 268.

<sup>7</sup> See also *Romeo and Juliet*, Act II, Scene 4, 61-3 and the *Variorum* note on the Wild-Goose Chase.



these expressions as they occur in all of Ibsen's works and in the footnotes traces them to their sources. In the text Dr. Anstensen gives a running commentary on the context in which the various *dramatis personae* employ these expressions and also discusses the manner in which they quote—sincerely, ironically, with pathos—or perhaps also misquote for a purpose. In the appendix he gives five tables: I Distribution of the 1160 quotations in the dramas, II Distribution of quotations by characters of the "Gyntish strain," III Distribution of quotations by the official clergy, IV Distribution of quotations by other important characters, V Distribution of conscious quotations in the entire writings of Ibsen.

A brief review can by no means even enumerate what the Ibsen student may gain from this work due to the intelligent manner in which the material is presented. First and foremost there is the vast paroemiatic material, collected and classified. The provenience of citations, *e. g.* from Holberg (20) and the Bible (374), throws light on Ibsen's literary interests. But as the subtitle implies, Dr. Anstensen is interested very much also in a study of Ibsen's style.

He shows that the quotations are used to express moods, ideas, and sentiments—frequently those that Ibsen wishes to satirize. "By thus making a proverbial phrase of familiar connotation the target of attacks by characters who in greater or lesser degree command our sympathy, while it is being defended repeatedly by persons for whom we feel an instinctive aversion, Ibsen accomplishes his specific purpose: to render suspect in our minds the traditional ideas which this phrase connotes." (p. 237). Another device is the use of quotations as a *leit-motiv*, *e. g.* in *When We Dead Awaken* the familiar phrase "all the kingdoms of the world and the glory of them." (p. 234). Highly interesting is the use Ibsen makes of proverbial sayings in character delineation, and most strikingly in drawing the character of Peer Gynt. The speeches of this hero abound in quotations; while *The Pretenders* contains 47 and *A Doll's House* 5, *Peer Gynt* has 245. Peer in his egotism, hypocrisy, and cowardice indulges in quotations of every kind in order to flatter his vanity, to justify his selfish conduct, and to silence the voice of a guilty conscience. Whereas Brand employs Christ's word, "Get thee behind me!" when he refuses to yield to temptation, Peer employs these words hypocritically with an air of outraged innocence when the green-clad woman confronts him with his "brat". (p. 172). Very often too Peer excuses his weaknesses "pretending to be quoting Scripture when he is merely citing an everyday phrase to justify his taking the path of least resistance: "'dog, som skrevet står, lad gå!'" (p. 149). "But, as it is written, let 'er go!"<sup>1</sup> Dr. Anstensen

<sup>1</sup> M. C. Wahl, *Das parömiologische Sprachgut bei Shakespeare, Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare Gesellschaft*, XXII (1887), p. 105, says in speaking of the servant of the Capulets who has been ordered to deliver

shows that Stensgaard, Hjalmar and others of the "Gyntish strain" are likewise characterized by their use of proverbs, much as Ibsen's clergymen use uncritically precepts that they regard as an ultimate authority. The tables show that these two groups use 62% of the conscious quotations in all of Ibsen's works.

On p. 149 Dr. Anstensen gives as his opinion, without entering into any discussion of the subject, that the famous misquotation employed by Peer Gynt in excusing his carnal desires toward the fat and none too clean Anitra: "das ewig Weibliche ziehet uns an," was intentional. The poet himself of course never made a statement on the moot point, but Dr. Sigurd Ibsen in a letter to Logeman, written more than a decade after his father's death, expresses the opinion that the neat substitution of "an" for "hinan" was consciously made for the effect attained. Logeman<sup>2</sup> reprints in facsimile the page of Ibsen's manuscript where the line originally read: "Das ewig weibliche ziet uns herann" and, after careful consideration of all the evidence, comes to the conclusion that "far from Ibsen having introduced the mistake into the quotation to characterize Peer's half-culture as has been suggested, the wavering in spelling points to it being nothing but a slip of the memory." The most recent commentator on *Peer Gynt*, La Chesnais<sup>3</sup> agrees with Logeman concerning the different readings: "Je crois avec lui, malgré l'opinion si autorisée de Sigurd Ibsen, qu'elles prouvent simplement que Henrik Ibsen n'a pas retrouvé

invitations: "Um das Komische der Situation zu erhöhen, lässt ihn der Dichter die Betrachtungen über diesen schwierigen Auftrag mit dem Pathos biblischer Zitationen beginnen "it is written," welche Anführungsform um so drastischer wirkt, da er eine ganze Reihe ähnlicher Künstler mit einer gleichen Verwechslung der Begriffe bedenkt. So setzt er anstatt "the shoemaker should meddle with his last" in seiner Verwirrung "with his yard," das dem Schneider gebührt und so umgekehrt, während er dem Fischer anstatt der Netze des Malers Pinsel und diesem des ersteren Werkzeug zuweist. Diese clownartigen Spässe, die sich beim Dichter in mannigfacher Abwechslung vorfinden, lagen im Geschmacke der Zeit, um die allgemeine Belustigung der Zuschauer zu erhöhen, und mussten wie hier um so wirksamer sein, wenn sie sich auf dem Gebiete des Sprichwörtlichen tummelten, das, obgleich allgemein verständlich und uralte, im Munde des Clowns zu einer Behauptung von höchster Autorität wie derjenigen der Bibel emporgeschraubt werden sollte, während ihr eine solche gänzlich mangelte." This is strikingly similar to Ibsen's usage of proverbs and constitutes one of the few instances I have found in which the paroemiologist in any way discusses proverbs as an element in the author's style. Usually he is content in tracking down proverbs and pointing out parallels. It would be very interesting also to investigate how various authors, say Shakespeare, Cervantes, and Ibsen make use of conscious quotation. For example, Shakespeare characterizes Dogberry by letting him misquote, "Comparisons are odorous."

<sup>2</sup> H. Logeman, *A Commentary on Henrik Ibsen's Peer Gynt*, The Hague, 1917, pp. 218 ff.

<sup>3</sup> *Henrik Ibsen Oeuvres Complètes*, traduites par P. G. La Chesnais, Paris, 1935, Vol. VIII, p. 456.

dans sa mémoire, pourtant très bonne, le texte exact de Goethe". At the time Ibsen wrote *Peer Gynt* he had spent only a month or so in Germany; even a quarter century later, after he had been living in Dresden and Munich for twenty years, his letters to Emilie Bardach (the only ones preserved that are written in German) show considerable uncertainty in regard to case endings. Much as I admire Ibsen's keen sense of humor and despite the fact that the words fit *Peer Gynt* so exactly, I feel on the basis of the evidence presented that, as Emerson puts it, our author was inspired and "builded better than he knew" when he had *Peer* say: "Das ewig weibliche ziehet uns an."

For his list of Biblical allusions Dr. Anstensen does not claim completeness. One has occurred to me that might be worth pointing out because it is such a droll item in the program of *Peer Gynt's* "grand tour." In his monolog before the Memnon Statue in Act IV *Peer* is speaking of the various places he is planning to visit and what he hopes to see there. He had heard of Socrates and he wants to see in Athens the prison where the philosopher had died; he wishes to examine "stone by stone" the pass defended by Leonidas; by the Red Sea he hopes to discover the grave of "King Potiphar" etc. He had likewise heard of the hanging gardens and, as a good Lutheran, of the Whore of Babylon (*Apocalypse* 17, 5)—therefore he sets out to see in Babylon "haengende Haver og Skjøger" (Archer: harlots and hanging gardens). I shall quote Dr. Anstensen once more to illustrate how the study of the proverbs used by *Peer Gynt* characterizes this figure whom George Brandes grouped "with the immortal Don Quixote": "In turning his quoting habit to account, he quite frequently displays the power of a superior intellect. He is quick-witted and keen, and a shrewd judge of human nature. His prodigiously fertile imagination, his delightfully roguish humor, and his way of winking slyly at himself very nearly succeed in making the rascal likable."

This book, the first number in the new series of Columbia University Germanic Studies, is a well-reasoned, well-written, and well-documented contribution to our Ibsen literature. It is likewise, so far as I have observed, singularly free from misprints; still no Columbia dissertation ought to speak of "the hoi polloi" (p. 3).

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tischen Material über die Fälle und das meiste des sprachvergleichenden Materials im Zeitwort. Bei den grossen, ungelösten Fragen bringen sie eine knappe Darstellung der verschiedenen Erklärungen, wie bei der Lautverschiebung oder dem umstrittenen germanischen *ē*. Zeitschriftenverweise bis zu 1934 finden sich überall dort, wo grössere Probleme nur angedeutet werden konnten.

Die im Vorwort durchaus anerkannte Schwierigkeit hinsichtlich der Zusammenarbeit der Verfasser, die zeitweise eine Entfernung zwischen Wien und Liverpool zu überdrücken hatte, hat, neben einigen Druckfehlern, auch einige Ungenauigkeiten in das Buch einschleichen lassen. S. 12, Z. 10 v. u.: *priton* statt *briton*; 14, Z. 14 v. u.: IE *q̥etuōres* statt *q̥etuores*, und öfter sind idg. Längen nicht konstant bezeichnet; 16, Z. 2 und 15 v. o.: Skt. *ukṣa*: Skt. *śākhā*, wo, wie auch an anderen Stellen, Skt. *ś* (= *ç*) und *ṣ* (= *š*, *ṣ*) nicht auseinandergehalten sind; 16, Z. 3 v. o.: Goth *auhsa* statt *auhsō*; 55, Z. 15-10 v. u.: Das Auftreten des *e*-Vokals im Partizip des Perfekts der 5. Ablautklasse wird als Normalstufe gerechtfertigt durch die Behauptung, dass die Ablautform *a* eine Anomalie im Ablautsystem geschaffen hätte (Übereinstimmung des P. P. mit der Vergangenheit). Akzenterwägungen sprechen gegen diese Annahme; auch erfolgt ja in nhd. Zeit der Ausgleich in gerade dieser Weise. Auch die Ansicht, dass die *e*-Stufe in P. P. eine Harmonie zwischen Kl. 5 und Kl. 6 und 7 geschaffen hätte, ist nicht aufrechtzuerhalten, da die Dehnstufe in der Mehrzahl der Vgheit die 5 Kl. viel inniger mit der 4. Kl. verbindet. Vorzuziehen ist, dass *e* in *gebana-* entweder Analogie zum Präsens ist (und nicht Normalstufe) oder dass *ɳ* vor Konsonant sich zu *e* entwickelt; 77, Z. 9 v. o.: hinter *uidēiō* lies *moneō*; 93, Z. 21-3 v. o.: Da die Dentalverschiebung allein am weitesten durchgeführt ist und am klarsten hd. und nd. scheidet, ist eine Verschiebungsordnung (1) dental (2) labial (3) velar viel wahrscheinlicher; 99 und öfter: ahd. *z* und *z* sind durcheinandergeworfen; 103, Z. 7-9 v. o.: Bühnenaussprache für *w* ist labiodental; 129, Z. 11 v. o.: *u* in *Urlaub* ist lang; 215, Z. 5 v. u.: Unterscheidung zwischen *Gebrüll* und *Gebrülle* ist übertrieben.

Im Ganzen jedoch präsentiert sich das Buch als ein sorgfältig gearbeitetes Werk, zuweilen vielleicht etwas gar zu konservativ, immer jedoch sich auf dem Boden klar erschlossener Tatsachen haltend. Aus beiden Gründen aber sollte es sich als ein dem Studierenden überaus nützliches Hilfsmittel erweisen.

GEORGE NORDMEYER

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*Deutsches Wörterbuch* von HERMANN PAUL. Vierte Auflage bearbeitet von KARL EULING. Halle, Max Niemeyer, 1935. VII, 688 pp., lexicon octavo, M. 18.

From the very beginning, Paul disclaimed any intention to make his dictionary an approximately complete repository of the German *Wortschatz*: words such as *Abbild*, *Admiral*, *Advokat*, *Almer*, *Else*, *Alsem*, *Altar*, *althochdeutsch*, *Altkanzler*, *Altmeister*, *Amper*, *Amelmehl*, *Amethyst*, *Ammeister*, *Ammonshorn*, *Amnestie*, *Amulett*, *amüsieren*, *Ananas*, *Anarchie*, *Anchovi*, *Andante*, *Andorn*, *Andreaskreuz*, *Andrienne*, *Angster*, *Arsenal*, *Artillerie*, *Attentat*, all of which are discussed by Kluge, are omitted by Paul. Euling's task of keeping the book up to date did not involve a far-reaching re-working—the new fourth edition, in fact, has only six pages more than the preceding one. Nor does Paul always enter into a detailed discussion of the etymology and history of a word, at times contenting himself with a bare statement such as: "*Allvater*, aus dem Anord. aufgenommen, wo *Alfaðir* Bezeichnung Odins ist," whereas Kluge traces the complete history of the word in German, from Gottsched down to Campe. On the other hand, Kluge devotes only two lines to *also*, whereas Paul devotes a page and a half to the discussion of the various uses of this word. Similar detailed treatment is accorded words such as *ab*, *aber*, *all*, *an*, *auf*: that is to say, whenever Paul has supplementary information to give, he expands his treatment of the word under discussion. Particularly does he stress unusual forms and meanings, when these can be illustrated by reference to the works of well-known authors. The exact passages, however, are rarely cited, the name of the author, as a rule, being merely mentioned. The following additions and corrections may not be out of place:

Concerning *bezeugen* the statement is made: "Im 17., 18. Jahrh. steht es öfters statt *bezeigen* (auch bei Goe. u. Schi.), wie umgekehrt." Wieland, it may be added, in his original editions uses *bezeugen* almost exclusively, whereas in his *Ausgabe letzter Hand* the form *bezeigen* occurs exclusively. *Degen* = *Schwert*, "aus franz. *dague* im 15. Jahrh. eingeführt": this is not at all certain—in fact, the earliest example of the German word occurs in a document dated 1400, from Slavic territory, from which the immediately following instances likewise come. The form *fodern* (without *r* in the first syllable) is alleged to be "ostmitteldeutsch": it is also *südwestdeutsch*, however, as both Schiller (cf. PBB. XXVIII, 234) and Wieland prefer this form. The secondary form *Keller* (for *Kellner*, *cellarius*) is the one exclusively used by Goethe in his earlier writings, for example, in *Die Mitschuldigen*, from which it was later removed, not by Goethe, but by the printer of one of the *Doppeldrucke*. The first use of the word *Schriftsteller*, in its modern meaning, is ascribed to Gottsched, but the word may



cited as early as 1660 in J. W. von Stubenberg's *Von menschlicher Vollkommenheit* . . . (not recorded by Goedeke): "Es gibt viel Schriftstellere, die unter dem Namen der Naturkundigung . . ." (p. 224); "Theils Schriftsteller sagen Wunder und Mäher von alten Gemälden" (p. 303). Stubenberg likewise uses the forms *Schrift-Verfasser* (pp. 194, 195, 205) and *Schriften-Verfasser* (pp. 193, 216). In the case of the verb *versteinen*, see Wieland's apology for this form in his glossary to *Oberon* VIII, 488.—The well-printed book deserves a place by the side of the dictionaries of Kluge and Weigand.

W. KURRELMAYER

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*A Study of the Themes of the Resurrection in the Mediaeval French Drama.* By JEAN GRAY WRIGHT. A dissertation. Bryn Mawr: 1935. Pp. vi + 150.

The recent publication of three O. F. Passion Plays has led to a reconsideration of the whole field of Mediaeval drama in France. After the brilliant synthesis of M. Cohen and Mrs. Frank's important contributions, Dr. Wright, who recently edited the Anglo-Norman *Resurrection*, has made a close study of the plays dealing with the Resurrection, taking also into account the Latin and vernacular sources, and the relevant parts of the English and Cornish cycles. As a result of her investigations she establishes more firmly certain conclusions already advanced by scholars: the close relationship and dependence on the *Passion des Jongleurs* of the Palatine-Autun-Semur-Sion-Sainte Geneviève group described by Mrs. Frank; and the similarity of certain parts of the Cornish plays to the French, especially the *Passion d'Arras*. She also shows reason to modify M. Roy's statement that Arnoul Greban imitated Arras closely. Furthermore she has made it clear that the Anglo-Norman *Resurrection* depended for its order of events in part on the *Passion des Jongleurs*; and that the *Passion de Sainte Geneviève* was probably influenced by the *Roman de l'estoire dou Graal* and by the *Gospel of Gamaliel*. And she has pointed out a parallel to part of the Provençal *Passion* in a Harrowing of Hell passage from the French poem in Bib. nat. ms. fr. 821. If these seem small results to come out of so long an analysis, it should be borne in mind that the absence of more parallels is in itself significant; and also that Dr. Wright's tabulation of data from this confusing series of episodes is a real convenience to scholars.

Some of her conclusions fail to convince, and some minor points are insufficiently verified. Her evidence that the English *Ludus Coventriae* and *Chester* depended on French plays is not conclu-



sive, though it is clear that both the *Ludus Coventriae Burial* and the Anglo-Norman *Resurrection* were influenced directly or indirectly by the *Passion des Jongleurs*, and that both Arras and the Chester *Harrowing of Hell* have some relationship to the *Legenda Aurea* account. Of course the exact connection between existing texts may well be doubtful when one thinks of the multitudes which must have disappeared. All the more is it incumbent on the investigator to consider relevant texts outside of England and France: if the Benediktbeuern and Klosterneuburg plays had been consulted, statements would have been modified about the setting of the guard (pp. 62, 79) and the incredulity with which the apostles received the news of the resurrection in the early plays (p. 125). The accuracy of the proof-reading is not impeccable. And Dr. Young's *The Drama of the Medieval Church* suggests a reconsideration of the passages on the Barking *Ordinale* (p. 38, Young, I, 166), and the *Descensus ad Inferos* (p. 84, Young, I, 150). In the matter of style perhaps the minute comparison of numerous details does not demand melodious rhythms; yet the pedestrian quality of Dr. Wright's prose suffers in comparison with Mrs. Frank's ease of perspective and especially with the luminous characterizations of M. Cohen.

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*England's Helicon*. Edited by HYDER EDWARD ROLLINS. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1935. Vol. I, Text, pp. xiv + 228; vol. II, Introduction, Notes, and Indexes, pp. viii + 241. \$6.00.

Lovers of learning and of beautiful books will regret, though Professor Rollins perhaps will not, that with these volumes he completes his series of Elizabethan anthologies. His edition of *England's Helicon* is quite equal to its predecessors, and that is, indeed, high praise. It is not likely that the bibliographer or textual purist can ask for more. Perhaps the unsophisticated amateur of poetry might desire additional light on the meaning of ambiguous or obsolete terms, though Mr. Rollins's Index will give him a good deal. It does not, for example, explain the curious Elizabethan use of names like "Circes" (101.15) and "Daphnes" (108.18) as nominative or objective singulars. The latter case, "*Daphnes* ill betide," has momentarily misled Mr. Rollins himself, for *betide* is here a participle, not, as the Index states, a substantive.

The 150 poems which make up the first edition of *England's Helicon* are really 149, for one item, which appears as no. 72 with the initials of S(ir) E(dward) D(yer), reappears as no. 141 with

slightly different text and with the signature "Ignoto." (This Ignoto is the real theme of the present discourse.) Apart from the eminence of the authors represented and the exclusive devotion to pastoral themes, which must have seemed old-fashioned in 1600, the most striking thing about this anthology is perhaps the accuracy with which the editor (whom Mr. Rollins convincingly identifies with Nicholas Ling) has named the writers of the pieces collected. Venial slips, of course, occurred. For example, two poems out of Tottel's Miscellany are assigned to the chief author of that collection, Surrey, rather than to an "uncertain" contemporary; and there is the curious fact that four poems, which had previously appeared in Lodge's works or over his initials, are here assigned to Dyer. The printer was doubtless responsible for the accident that, of three consecutive poems taken from a book by John Dickinson, the first is correctly initialled "I. D." and the other two "I. M."; and mere inadvertence accounts for the only case in which a poem bears no note of provenance at all. This is no. 119, which, as Mr. Rollins shows, came out of Dowland's *First Book of Songs and Aires*. So did the next three poems, and to the last of these (no. 122) Ling added the note, "These *three* ditties were taken out of Maister Iohn Dowlands booke of tableture for the Lute. . . ." Change "three" to "four" and all is clear.

One poem (no. 96), a poor one, sung to the Queen on her Progress of 1592, is frankly signed "Anonimus," and remains so. Two others (nos. 87, 90), which are of similar origin, are distinctly labelled "The Authors name vnknowne to me" or "The Author thereof vnknowne." Ninety-nine poems are assigned to specific authors including Sidney, Spenser, Shakespeare, Drayton, Breton, Greene, and Peele. Professor Rollins has not been able in every case to validate the ascription by other testimony, but—save for the cases mentioned in the previous paragraph—he has found no reason to dispute it. Twenty-one poems are marked only by the initials of their writers. The most interesting of these are the four assigned to "H. C." They are all excellent of their kind, and it grieves the reviewer that Mr. Rollins has found such plausible bibliographical reason for transferring them from the poetical Henry Constable, to whom they have hitherto been credited, to the printer-playwright-prosateur whom Henslowe knew as "Harey Cheattell."

Thirteen poems correctly designated as coming from the music books of Byrd, Dowland, Morley, and N. Young, and an equal number of others signed "Ignoto" complete the contents of the first edition of *England's Helicon*. It is these thirteen "Ignoto" poems that most arouse questions concerning Ling's editorial policy. Ignoto, Mr. Rollins says, "of course means anonymous or unknown." But it is also glossed in Italian dictionaries as "concealed, hidden," and I do not think that Ling used it as a mere

equivalent of the 'Anonimus' which he attached to one of his poems or the frank notes confessing ignorance which he appended to others. Mr. Rollins shows—what is certainly very interesting—that in two cases the "Ignoto" signature is a cancel pasted over the famous initials of S(ir) W(alter) R(alegh), and in two others it similarly hides the initials of M(aister) F(ulke) G(reville). Moreover, another of the "Ignoto" poems is the reply to Marlowe's "Come Live With Me" traditionally ascribed to Raleigh; and the additional poems in the second edition of *England's Helicon* (1614), which Mr. Rollins also prints, include five more assigned to Ignoto, all of which have figured in the Raleigh canon.

Ling's preface to the first edition suggests that he apprehended some objection to his publishing of authors' names:

. . . No one thing beeing here placed by the Collector of the same vnder any mans name, eyther at large, or in letters, but as it was deliuered by some especiall copy comming to his handes. No one man, that shall take offence that his name is published to any inuention of his, but he shall within the reading of a leafe or two, meete with another in reputation euery way equal with himselfe, whose name hath beene before printed to his Poeme. . . .

This is subtle, but by Elizabethan notions decidedly high-handed; and it may not be unfair to conjecture that Ling adopted "Ignoto" as a substitute not for names he did not know but for those which it was indiscreet to divulge. For Raleigh in particular, it could hardly have been thought wise to make unauthorized use of his name either in 1600, when he was a powerful statesman, or in 1614, when he was (by King James's definition) a convicted traitor.

TUCKER BROOKE

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*The Life and Work of Henry Chettle.* By HAROLD JENKINS. London: Sidgwick and Jackson, 1935. Pp. viii + 276. 10 s. 6 d.

Mr. Jenkins offers the usual apologia: we can get closer to the age if we observe the men of mere talent and let the geniuses go. That is a debatable proposition, but a valid excuse; once made it should be adhered to. The curious thing about Chettle's case is the possibility, remote perhaps but still the possibility, that he was some sort of frustrated genius. Rejecting Mr. Dugdale Sykes's reasoning, Mr. Jenkins joins him in casting doubt on Dekker's authorship of the charming songs in *Patient Grissell* ("Art thou poor, yet hast thou golden slumbers?" etc.); they are "at least as likely" to be Chettle's—a commendably cautious statement. If, as Professor Hyder Rollins believes, the "H. C." of *England's Helicon* was not Constable but Chettle, and if it was the latter who wrote *Piers Plainness' Seven Years Prenticeship*, in which one of the *Helicon* songs appears, then Chettle was among the sweetest

voices in the Elizabethan choir and the *Grissell* lyrics would easily be within his range. But conclusive identifications are yet to be made; there may have been two "H. C.'s," though that is unlikely; or "H. C." may have been neither Constable nor Chettle but some very gifted amateur. It remains questionable, dubious indeed, whether Chettle was a poet at all.

He was certainly printer, pamphleteer, and playwright. In the last of these capacities everyone knows he was a hack, miserably harnessed to Henslowe's chariot. The complete absence of poetry, either of phrase or of conception, in the one extant play of his unaided composition puts a heavy burden of proof on those who think he wrote several exquisite lyrics. For *Hoffman* is devoid of merit of any kind; a revenge melodrama of unrelieved sensationalism, it is not even successfully macabre. Mr. Jenkins is impressed with the "originality" of Chettle's departure from the revenge pattern; there is no ghost (instead the hero rattles his father's skeleton), no "hesitation motif," no philosophizing. The last Chettle was probably incapable of transmuting into poetry and philosophically let alone; and since his game was to give his audience gory violence from the start, hesitation was out of the question anyway. Mr. Jenkins minimizes the influence of *Hamlet*, but it seems likely that the "originality" of *Hoffman* arises from the coarseness of the imitation.

Mr. Jenkins is not lacking in admiration for Chettle's "imagination" and "skill" as a dramatist. That tedious piece of stage carpentry *Patient Grissell* (by the way, has anyone noticed the pale reflection in Julia of Shakespeare's Beatrice?) has "an abiding quality"; the Marquis's (arbitrary and unmotivated) dismissal of the courtiers whose sycophancy he has encouraged strikes "a note of rugged strength"; the almost unconnected subplots are "very cleverly woven into the story." Mr. Jenkins admires everything, even the Welsh couple and Babulo, "who takes the [low] comic element into the tenderest parts of the play." The general estimate of Chettle's place is more realistic, but the treatment of the several plays can not be said to display much critical discrimination nor much sensitiveness to aesthetic considerations.

The book is far better on the bibliographical side and in its handling of sources and the (mostly insoluble) problems of disintegration, which after all are bound to be the major problems for the student of Chettle. Mr. Jenkins appears to have read and weighed everything that has been written about his subject and documents his study with admirable thoroughness. He has the courage and good sense to end many a paragraph with a *non probatum*. His remarks on the "copy" are always interesting. Scholars must be grateful to him for bringing the facts and hypotheses together in a well organized and lucid monograph. A regrettable defect of the index is the want of references to recent work on Chettle mentioned in the text.

HAZELTON SPENCER

*Proof-reading in the Sixteenth, Seventeenth, and Eighteenth Centuries.* By PERCY SIMPSON. London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1935. Pp. xii + 252. \$15.00.

Though Mr. Simpson concedes that "an author's direct supervision . . . might be intermittent and haphazard," his opening chapter marshals an array of evidence which leaves the reader in no doubt that "Authors' Proof-reading" in the printer's shop was a regular practice even in Shakespeare's time. With few exceptions, however, the citations are from non-dramatic works, the acting drama of that period being represented by three authors. Jonson is the most important of the playwright proof-readers; his assiduity was due no doubt to the literary value he set on his plays and to his temperamental addiction to detail. Mr. Simpson remarks that the unknown printer of *Cynthia's Revels* Q 1601 "must, unless he was a very earnest Christian, have made the printing-house ring with his curses when he got the proofs." In sheet F alone Jonson made 89 alterations in the outer form and 103 in the inner. Marston also read proof for at least two of his plays; perhaps Jonson's example inspired him. The reference in *The Malcontent* may, however, be discounted, since Marston gives a special reason for "my selfe . . . set[ting] forth this Comedy." The other reference is in *Parasitaster*, the first edition of which was not proof-read by the dramatist. The second (1606) was set up from a corrected MS; but while he "perused this copy . . . yet so vrgent hath been my busines, that some errors haue styll passed. . . ." The Marston references, then, hardly strengthen Mr. Simpson's case. The third dramatist is Massinger, a slovenly poet, whatever may have been his talents for proof correction; but with Massinger we are far into the seventeenth century.<sup>1</sup> Of pre-Jonsonian auctorial proof-reading of English plays Mr. Simpson offers no evidence. One is obliged, at any rate tentatively, to conclude that practice changed. Perhaps Johnson was largely responsible.

This tall and handsome volume is precisely documented, well illustrated, and as the quotation shows pleasantly written, no inconsiderable feat in view of the highly technical subject. Yet for students of the drama it hardly alters the picture, though it provides a wealth of welcome material. Not many scholars can afford to miss Mr. Simpson's first chapter, to say nothing of the rest of his book. But though he begins it by attacking a misstatement of the old Cambridge editors, on the vexing questions of Shakespeare bibliography it throws no new light.

Other chapters furnish information about printing-house routine

<sup>1</sup> In a later chapter Mr. Simpson alludes to proof-sheets of William Cartwright's *The Royal Slave*, 1639, which the author apparently "oversaw."



from "Early Proofs and Copy" ("few points that come up in proof-reading are untouched"), and describe the calibre and methods of the "Correctors of the Press," who were sometimes learned men. The scholarly proof-reader appears on the Continent as early as 1468, but not apparently in England till toward the close of the sixteenth century. The fourth and final chapter deals with "The Oxford Press and its Correctors"; an appendix gives their fees from 1691 to 1806, and another some amusing effusions of the "Musa Typographica." The printer's proof-reader has never been disposed to take auctorial objugation lying down. Thus Cornelius Kiel, one of the Plantin correctors, ends his defense of the craft:

Posthac lambe tuos, Ardelio, catulos.  
Errata alterius quisquis correxerit, illum  
Plus satis inuidiae, gratia nulla manet.

HAZELTON SPENCER

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*Boswell's Life of Johnson, together with Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales.* Edited by G. BIRKBECK HILL. Revised by L. F. POWELL. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press [N. Y.: Oxford University Press], 1934. Vols. I-IV; pp. xlviii + 556, viii + 544, viii + 542, viii + 558. \$28.00.

The value of this thorough and enlarged revision of George Birkbeck Hill's edition of Boswell's *Life of Johnson* (1887) may hardly be questioned. Birkbeck Hill has been out of print for some years, and the abundance of fresh facts gleaned by Boswellians and Johnsonians in the last fifty years has long awaited incorporation into the definitive *Life*. The labor of revising the text and of absorbing this mass of new material into the notes has been done with distinction by Mr. L. F. Powell, Librarian of the Taylor Institution at Oxford, who has given twelve years to the heavy task.

Three principles, stated in the Preface, have been followed in making the revision. First, the pagination of Birkbeck Hill's 1887 edition, so far as it concerns Boswell's text, has been retained. This arrangement leaves undisturbed the system of page references which has grown up around the original Hill edition, long used by scholars as the standard. Second, the text has been carefully revised. By a complete and systematic collation of the first three editions Mr. Powell has been enabled to produce a much more perfect text than any yet published. As his basis the editor has adopted Boswell's third edition, the variants of the first and second



editions being recorded in the critical notes, which are a new feature of the work. Third, Birkbeck Hill's comprehensive and distinguished commentary has been retained, but revised, corrected, and supplemented wherever necessary in accordance with the discoveries of recent research. Typical of the editor's handling of Hill's commentary, which is treated throughout with genuine respect, is the Appendix on Johnson's first acquaintance with the Thrales. Here Mr. Powell more closely fixes dates, cuts out an irrelevant comment on Cowper, and adds a lively quotation from the *Johnsonian Miscellanies*, which more fully explains Hill's comment.

Ample justification for the revised edition is to be found in its valuable supplementary material, of which an extraordinary amount has been assembled. The labors of scholars and collectors on both sides of the Atlantic during the last half century have been levied upon to throw fresh light upon the life and times of Johnson and his circle. From his vantage point at Oxford Mr. Powell has been able to examine a large amount of original material and to call upon a corps of specialists to clear up queries left unanswered or unasked by the diligent Birkbeck Hill, who of course had not access to the *Boswell Papers* and many other important literary disclosures since his time. Of new matter it may be safely said that here is God's plenty. Some idea of the extensive collaboration necessary to the making of the editor's commentary may be gained from his long list of acknowledgements, a list which forms a veritable roll call of recent eighteenth century scholars, collectors, and booksellers. Behind this book is not a man, but many men.

The difficult editorial task of further lifting the shroud with which Boswell was wont to conceal the identity of many of his characters in the *Life* has been met by the present editor, who through his own researches and the collaboration of others has added about a hundred identifications to those already established by Croker and Hill. Of even greater importance is a considerable addition to the Johnson canon. On the evidence cited in his notes the editor names nine writings not included in the Bibliography of Courtney and Nichol Smith.

In order to preserve the pagination of Birkbeck Hill's text it has been necessary to print the bulk of the new notes in an Appendix at the end of each volume, an arrangement facilitated by ready cross references. It is in these Appendixes that the reader becomes fully aware of the extent of Mr. Powell's amplification, which is achieved in a manner pleasantly free from pedantry or prolixity. As an example may be cited the entirely new Appendix on portraits of Johnson, which describes all the known contemporary paintings and engravings mentioned by Boswell. This must have cost infinite labor and enquiry. Six of these portraits appear

among the thirteen full-page illustrations which add to the attractiveness of the edition, the format of which is uniform with the Oxford Johnson *Miscellanies*, *Lives of the Poets*, and *Letters*.

It is, in truth, hard to quarrel with these volumes, which are indispensable to scholarship on their subject. There are those, perhaps, who will revive the charge levelled against Birkbeck Hill's edition, namely, that the text is over-annotated. "Notes are often necessary," wrote Johnson, "but they are necessary evils." Few students will deny this; but there are degrees of evil, and it cannot be said that the footnoting transgressions of the present editor ever become burdensome to the reader. On the contrary, they afford pleasure as well as profit. No judicious person will wish away, for example, notes revealing that "Johnson and Lord Chesterfield had common ties, including even one of remote relationship"; or that "after seven years of comparative continence Boswell had persuaded himself that 'Asiatic plurality' was permitted to a Christian and had behaved accordingly." Mr. Powell wears his editorship graciously. In his notes he records, nicely summarized, the ferretings of A. L. Reade, R. W. Chapman, F. L. Pottle, and other distinguished scholars. Indeed, one of the chief values of the present edition is that it offers a competent synthesis of all the important research on Boswell and Johnson in recent years.

It was Boswell's boast that in the *Life* Johnson would "be seen more completely than any man who has ever yet lived." Posterity has allowed the claim. Yet it cannot be doubted that the extensive commentary brought together in this new edition serves to fetch the Doctor even more clearly into view. As for Boswell himself, that not altogether ingenuous worthy is revealed as he never has been before.

The forthcoming issue of Boswell's *Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides*, Johnson's *Diary of a Journey into North Wales*, and an *Index* to the whole, will complete the six volume revision of Birkbeck Hill, an undertaking which deserves the gratitude of scholars. The present four volumes augur well for the quality of those to come. Of the making of revised editions there is no end, but until the vaults of British castles yield up more Black Cabinets, or a new race of Johnsonians and Boswellians arises to witch the world with noble scholarship, students will accept this edition of Boswell's *Johnson* as definitive.

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*The English Traveller and the Movement of Ideas 1660-1732.* By R. W. FRANTZ. Lincoln, Neb.: University of Nebraska, 1934. Pp. 176. \$1.00. (University Studies, XXXII-XXXIII.)

Professor Frantz has made a study of the contribution of the oversea traveler to the new philosophy of science of the Restoration. He begins with the Royal Society's "Directions for Sea-men, bound for far Voyages" of 1665-6, which prescribed methods of scientific observation. He then follows down the records and reviews of travel literature in the *Transactions*, and observes the scientific material in the travelers' published reports. The Society's policy of training travelers worked well. Mr. Frantz cites plentiful evidence to prove that travelers generally became "auxiliary scientists" in their observations of nature.

The Baconian attitude would be more difficult to attain in the social sciences than in the natural sciences. Mr. Frantz devotes the second half of his book to the travelers' use of the inductive method (to use modern terms) in the study of religion, ethics, and politics. He finds in their reports some open-minded observing of alien religious beliefs, alien codes of morality, and alien politics. Not many travelers were, however, able to transcend their training. They were not deliberately hunting for examples, especially among primitive peoples, of a "natural" religion, ethics, polity. But they could not help finding such examples, and they furnished theorists with some material. Mr. Frantz surveys their contribution to the thought of Locke (in respect to innate ideas and to a natural polity), and to the thought of religious theorists like Gildon, Blount, Collins, Toland, and of political theorists like Bolingbroke, Pettit, Nalson. He concludes that "the rationalism dominant in this period received both impetus and direction from the 'facts' of experience gleaned by the voyagers" (p. 160).

The thesis is reasonable, and conveyed without overstatement. Mr. Frantz has made a good survey, and it is not his fault if his travelers are not yet generally anti-Aristotelian, that only one traveler (Robert Drury) was advanced enough to be a Deist. There may be objection that his argument is not statistical, that we are not told how many voyages were in what degree "scientific." Mr. Frantz uses the less dogmatic method of describing tendencies rather than measuring them. There may also be objection that the contribution of the travelers to the natural sciences is not measured in full; but that is matter for another study, which would draw largely upon the archives of the Royal Society. There may be regret that Mr. Frantz has not considered travels in Europe, translations, and works still in manuscript. These will have to be added in time, if only because (for example) Locke and his like quoted rather more from foreign travelers than from English. But Mr. Frantz has the right of reasonably limiting his subject.

He has the more right because he has undoubtedly had a laborious task in tracking his travelers. His bibliography, which admits some 110 travel-books between 1660 and 1730, is the first of its kind. Fortunately it will be continued in the *Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature*.

GEORGE B. PARKS

*Washington University, St. Louis*

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*Early Victorian England, 1830-1865.* Edited by G. M. YOUNG.  
 London [and New York]: Oxford University Press, 1934.  
 Pp. xxvi + 414; ix + 558. \$14.00.

By and large, this work is worthy of its place beside the volumes upon the England of Shakespeare and of Johnson; the seventeen contributors have achieved their aim, "to provide the background of ideas and habits, to recall the sights and sounds of Early Victorian England, and so to create for the reader of the history or literature of the time the atmosphere which will bring their details into perspective or relief." Through this work we may see how the people of England lived between 1830 and 1865: how they made their livings; what they did with their leisure; how they dressed; what they ate; what they smelled; what they saw; and this at any hour of the day. All the large classes of Englishmen are treated, from the rich in their palaces dining on an incredible array of meats and liquors to the poor with their adulterated bread and their vicious drinks, huddled twenty to a dank cellar in the new towns of the north. The scope and detail make this work indispensable to the student of the age.

Inevitably the chapters are uneven in quality. Only an omniscient reviewer could imagine himself competent to criticize all of them intelligently. The chapters by the Claphams upon "Work and Wages" and "Life in the New Towns" are authoritative, vivid, and full of substance. Mrs. C. S. Peel's account of "Homes and Habits" is tremendously informative, but is too profusely illustrated to be digested; yet a historical novelist will be completely fitted out by this chapter. Mr. R. H. Mottram writes with great skill of life in London and of the slow decline of the provincial cities. And in speaking of this most accomplished writer among the contributors it is not amiss to congratulate the editor that nowhere is there a trace of the cheap brilliance in writing which has disfigured other books on the social history of the Victorian age. Admiral Ballard gives a perspicuous account of the navy in its momentous change from wooden hulls to those of steel. It would have been well if Sir John Fortescue had been equally judicious in his account of the army and had not added a dash of

somewhat heated propaganda. Mr. Basil Lubbock has all the advantages of a delightful subject in his account of the mercantile marine: the sailing ships racing home from the urgent west do indeed take the imagination, but it would be unfair to Mr. Lubbock to imply that the speed and beauty of his essay owes entirely to his subject. All the chapters are workmanlike achievements, but of the rest those on architecture by Mr. A. E. Richardson and on expansion and emigration by Mr. D. Woodruff are most satisfactory. Mr. Richardson especially has ordered and vivified an enormous mass of material. Early Victorian music and drama hardly gives Messrs. E. J. Dent and Allardyce Nicoll fitting opportunities for their talents.

The single scholar would require a life-time to amass the information given in this work, and therefore one feels ungrateful in saying that *Early Victorian England* is not an entirely satisfactory book. One asks for still other chapters, beyond the descriptive ones which appear here, for a fuller comprehension of the ideas which motivated the age—chapters on the religion, the philosophy, the science, the state of learning, the law, the literature. The editor is aware of these deficiencies, and many of these subjects are touched upon in passing, but it does not lie within the descriptive plan of the work to cover them exhaustively. Yet the failure to deal with representatives of these subjects, the professional people of the middle classes—comparatively small but very influential groups—gives an unfamiliar perspective to the picture of Victorian life. Most of these men of ideas, it is true, were working so quietly for the future that they were not noticeable figures to their own age; but the clergy, for example, were ubiquitous as well as socially significant, and deserved to appear in force in a chapter to themselves. Beyond these missing sections, one asks for substantial bibliographies for each subject; the lamentable scarcity of footnotes in the work is only remedied in the account of the press, and that, unfortunately, is not one of the stronger papers.

The first sixteen chapters, though always adequately and sometimes notably done, seem merely to describe the surface of the Victorian scene by comparison with Mr. G. M. Young's concluding essay, "Portrait of an Age." Mr. Young goes to the philosophical heart of the period and provides a brilliant analysis and interpretation of Victorian life. His contribution goes a long way towards comforting the reader for the loss of those which were excluded by the plan of the work. The two great forces which were working themselves out in history at the time were an already failing Evangelicalism and a still vigorous Utilitarianism. From his observation of these dynamic ideas in simultaneous operation Mr. Young makes a penetrating comment upon the situation: "English society was poised on a double paradox which its critics, within and without, called hypocrisy. Its practical ideals were at odds



with its religious professions, and its religious belief was at issue with its intelligence." As for Evangelicalism and Utilitarianism, one may think that never was a great society built upon such insubstantial and narrow philosophical foundations. Evangelicalism was not only ignorant in itself, but was the begetter of ignorance. Yet in active life it was the energy derived from this faith which achieved progress in industry, sanitation, government, and general humaneness. It joined forces oddly with an older humanitarianism and with Utilitarianism to form the age, at once hopeful and doubtful, brash and timid, progressive and conservative. Mr. Young thus describes the product of these forces: "The Englishman might reluctantly allow that in social amenity the French, in care for the well-being of the people, the Prussians, went beyond him. He might at moments be chilled by the aesthetic failure of his time, so profuse and yet so mean: alienated by its ethical assurance, at once so pretentious and so narrow. . . . But all the while he knew that in the essential business of humanity, the mastery of brute nature by intelligence, he had outstripped the world, and the Machine was the emblem and the instrument of his triumph." So much was happening in every field of endeavor, an old world dying and our own new world being born, and the spirit of England was riding the sea of change so buoyantly, that Mr. Young can say, perhaps not too rashly, "Of all decades in our history, a wise man would choose the eighteen-fifties to be young in." His statement is a challenge, and shows at least how superbly he has identified himself with his task.

WILLIAM CLYDE DE VANE

Cornell University

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*A Browning Handbook.* By WILLIAM CLYDE DE VANE. New York: Crofts & Co., 1935. Pp. vii + 533. \$2.50.

Professor DeVane's *Handbook* is excellent in plan and content. It is, in the first place, admirably adapted to its purpose as an aid to the study and interpretation of Browning's poetry. Through a clear and accurate survey of the literary and historical backgrounds of the poet's life and writings, and an incisive analysis of his poems, reviewed in chronological order, the book traces the development of his mind and imaginative genius.

But, in addition to being a useful and valuable manual, Mr. DeVane's work deserves recognition as a distinct contribution to scholarship. Since the publication in 1910 of the standard biography of Browning by Griffin and Minchin, new light has been thrown on the poet's life and verse. This has been done, in part, through a series of individual studies of various aspects of his poetry and, in part, through the collection and printing of a large



number of his letters. Now, for the first time, the fruitage of twenty-five years of literary criticism and research has been garnered in a single book and made available in convenient form.

It is fitting that Professor DeVane should have made this synthesis. His own work on Browning's *Parleyings* is the most signal contribution of recent years to our fuller understanding of the autobiography of the poet's mind and his intellectual and aesthetic interests. The conclusions of this volume and of Mr. DeVane's penetrating studies of *Sordello* and *Fifine at the Fair* are concisely outlined in *A Browning Handbook*.

Apart from the exposition of Browning's self revelation in *Parleyings*, the primary sources of our enlarged knowledge of his life and poetry lie in two important collections of letters printed, respectively, in 1923 and 1933: the *Letters of Robert Browning to Isa Blagden*, arranged for publication by Professor Armstrong, and the *Letters of Robert Browning, Collected by Thomas J. Wise*, edited by Professor Hood. Mr. DeVane is thoroughly conversant with these letters and uses them, with full acknowledgment, in the illuminating literary and biographical comment of his Handbook. Professor DeVane's acquaintance with the whole range of Browning criticism enables him to select happily the most pertinent aspects of it and, at the same time, his book does not lack individuality of judgment and vivacity of personal conviction.

Differences of opinion will always exist in connection with minor details. Personally, I am inclined to regard the third part of *Cavalier Tunes* as referring to a later incident in the struggle between King Charles I and the Puritans than that recorded in the first part. Mr. DeVane considers these to be contemporaneous. Again, the relative stress to be placed on the influences of Rossetti and Lady Ashburton on Browning in the composition of *Fifine at the Fair*, is, perhaps, an open question. Such small divergences of judgment and interpretation are inevitable.

Students and lovers of Browning's poetry will be grateful to Professor DeVane for this well-conceived and capably written Handbook. It sustains his established reputation for Browning scholarship, and will be an indispensable guide to the reader who wishes to keep fully abreast of the time in this particular field.

Bishop's University

WILLIAM O. RAYMOND

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*The Minor Poems of John Lydgate.* By HENRY NOBLE MACCRACKEN. Part II: Secular Poems. EETS (Orig. Ser. 192). Oxford Univ. Press, New York, 1934. \$12.00.

President MacCracken's second Volume of the *Minor Poems of Lydgate* continues his attempt to establish the "Lydgate Canon."

It therefore implies an acquaintance with his valuable essay on the "Canon" in the first volume of 1911. Since the editor's purpose is the production of an accurate text from a great number of MSS., critical notes and a glossary do not appear and ought not to be expected. For the information of scholars it should be said that the editor was denied access to the Longleat MSS.

The Monk of Bury fared ill in the 19th century. Conspicuous among many, Prof. Saintsbury waved his flaming sword over his unfortunate head. He was charged with ignorance of metre and with "enormous verbosity." Heavy charges, if true; but how true?

It seems strange that one who employed such a variety of forms—rime royal, 8-line ballade stanza, and couplets in 8 and 10 syllables—should not have known what he was about metrically! Saintsbury also speaks of his "dull, hackneyed, slovenly phraseology." Lydgate's vocabulary was extensive and various. Within it ecclesiastical, philosophical, and "aureate" terms, words of Latin and French origin, lie cheek by jowl with dialectal words and those of Scand. origin. Can it be possible that he was unable to pick and choose from it?

Close studies of Lydgate's metrical practices and of his vocabulary as well are still *desiderata* of scholarship. Until they appear we are dependent upon subjective or personal "hunches" about both.

However, some straws upon the surface show, I believe, the movement of the current below, and indicate a rising tide of appreciation for Daun John in times to come. President MacCracken claims, and gives chapter and verse for it, that he was an accurate and skilful rhymers, and that he was always "smooth." Furthermore, long and late tarrying with the poet has enabled him to reveal to us one of his metrical "tricks," a scheme of variation of the iambic pentameter measure, a "trick" that many of his critics have probably never discovered.

More than once the reviewer has been struck with the way in which the smooth flow of a stanza breaks, as it were, into a little picture of vigour and of action:

The hert desyreþ to drynke of crystall welles,  
The swan to swymme in large brood riueres,  
The gentyll faucon with gesse & ryche belles  
To cache hys pray lyke to hys desyres,  
I with my brode to scrape afore garneres:  
Precious stonys nobyng apperteyne  
To gese nor fovylys, þat pasture on þe grene.

The stanza quoted is from "the Cock and the Jacinth" of *Isopes Fabules* (which Saintsbury called "pointless enough!"). Is it too much to call attention to the appropriateness of the words in this story to the situation they describe? The speech of the Cock, as he moralizes along, contains a number of words of a vagueness

and generality reminiscent of the word-hoard of an old-fashioned Republican campaign orator ("nature, kynde, propurtees, vertues, vawew, pryce, hygh maters profounde & secree, doctrine, dysposyd, eleccion, opinion, wysdom & reson"), but becomes terse, native English when his thoughts turn to his particular and private business.

It may be that our opinion of Lydgate's incapacity and ineptitude will have to be revised. If such be the case, it will be because this text (and those of the several longer poems in the *EETS*.) has been intelligently studied. And intelligent study the two volumes deserve. They are based on all the MSS. their editor could learn of or was allowed to consult; have been reread with those MSS. by Dr. Merriam Sherwood; and carry an apparatus of variant readings.

The editors of *NED*. have combed Lydgate so thoroughly that gleaning after them is poor business, yet the following words may prove useful to the staff of the *ME. Dict.* at Ann Arbor. Numbers refer to page and line.

*ale appalid* 453, 127 "flat or stale ale." No quot. *ante* 1528.

*chaplerie* 430, 20 "division of a large or populous parish having its own parochial or district chapel." Phrase = mod. "within the ward." No quot. *ante* 1591.

*Chekereyk* 446, 17 "Kill-the-Leavings" (of the dish).

*devaunt* 451, 48 "proclaim." No quot. *ante* 1540.

*pocys* 621, 309 possibly an error for pl. of *pas*, but deriv. from OF. *pose*, a measure of land, seems not impossible.

HENRY L. SAVAGE

Princeton University

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*The Relations between the Social and Divine Order in William Langland's "Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman."* By FRANCIS A. R. CARNEGIE. Sprache und Kultur der germanischen und romanischen Völker. A. Anglistische Reihe. Bd. XII. Breslau, 1934. 48 pp.

Confining himself to texts A and B, Mr. Carnegie in the three chapters of this monograph follows the chain of thought and action through the *Visio* concerning Piers and the Vita de Dowel, Dobet, and Dobest. His aim is to study the allegorical method with special reference to the relations between the social and divine order in both parts of the poem. Of chief interest, therefore, is the interplay between the search for Salvation or Truth and the concept that Salvation rests in honest labor. The theme of the whole poem is the life of the laity, real and ideal, and its social gospel is mutual affection, which is to be gained through observance of the precepts *fiat voluntas tua* and *dilige deum et proximum tuum*.

Salvation is in the devotion to one's proper duty of work, and in self-abnegation. Within the allegory the relation of ideas is not haphazard. The doctrine of the sanctity of productive labor is the Church's message to the world. Piers in Dobest becomes St. Peter, representing the perfect rule of the Church on earth. Further, the solution of the social problem and the attainment of Salvation through self-abnegation are one. Piers in the last passus of Dobet becomes Christ. This essential identity indicates the inseparability of the social and the divine order, of the spiritual and the temporal. The author's procedure is straightforward.

Mr. Carnegie might perhaps have fitted his interpretation into the pattern of the hermeneutical method of Langland's own day, as used by the preachers who doubtless inspired the poet. Of the four senses of exposition, the tropological or moral obviously animates the reformer's entire poem. And in addition to this, and to the literal and the allegorical, there was an 'anagogical' sense. Spiritual matters bear to the temporal, and divine to the human, the same relation as this anagogical sense bears to the literal or to the allegorical aspect, simply conceived. The preachers' tracts prescribe that by its means "the minds of the listeners are to be stirred and exhorted to the contemplation of heavenly things."

HARRY CAPLAN

Cornell University

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### BRIEF MENTION

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*The Struggle for the Freedom of the Press from Caxton to Cromwell.* By WILLIAM M. CLYDE. Oxford [and New York]: Oxford University Press, 1934. Pp. xvi + 360. \$4.25. This doctoral dissertation supplies a useful account of the regulations by which successive governments in England from the introduction of printing to the death of Cromwell attempted to control the press. It chronicles a large number of the almost countless prosecutions and controversies which the never wholly effective endeavor to enforce those regulations provoked. It gives some attention to the emergence of the idea that the use of the press should be in some measure free. On the last point, however, the author falls into confusion. He succumbs, that is, to the temptation to see in every sufferer under censorship a champion of liberty. The fact was that in most of the controversies with which he deals, the victim was as little concerned as the persecutor with the principle of freedom. Both were thinking chiefly if not entirely of their own interest. The one was trying to use and the other was trying to control an instrument which neither regarded as of right free

to all. Only in the course of the long struggle of contending persons and parties to get the use and maintain control of the press for themselves did the idea arise that freedom of the press was an object to be fought for. In treating his subject, Dr. Clyde, absorbed in the cases which appear in the documents he has studied with such assiduity, fails to take account of this all important point. He sees in Prynne a kind of martyr to freedom, whereas the truth was that Prynne wanted to impose a censorship more ruthless than Laud ever desired or dared to attempt. He fails to observe that what Lilburne demanded as he stood in the stocks in 1638 was freedom to speak, not on the ground that what he spoke was true but on the ground that he spoke as a man and an Englishman. The struggle for the principle thus expressed by Lilburne and condemned by Prynne and Laud alike is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of the general doctrine of Christian liberty and natural right. It is a chapter which still remains to be written.

WILLIAM HALLER

Columbia University

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*Frühe deutsche Lyrik*, ausgewählt und erläutert von HANS ARENS, mit einer Einleitung von PROF. ARTHUR HÜBNER. Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, Berlin, 1935. 460 pages, 34 plates, large octavo, cloth, M. 4.80. An interesting essay on the *Minnesang* by Arthur Hübner serves as introduction to this anthology of Middle High German lyrics, arranged in chronological order, beginning with Kürnberger and ending with Oswald von Wolkenstein. A second section gives a selection of anonymous *Minnelieder*, beginning with the well-known *Du bist mîn*, and ending with excerpts from the *Liederbuch* of Clara Hätzlerin. These are followed by historical poems of the fourteenth century, and in conclusion there are some twenty-odd spiritual songs. A *Biographischer Anhang* furnishes compact information about the authors represented in the anthology, and also indicates the sources from which the selections were taken. Finally, there is an alphabetical index of first lines, as well as a comprehensive table of contents. The book is embellished by two series of plates, the first giving the portraits of the poets in the *Grosse Heidelberger Liederhandschrift*, the second reproducing characteristic objects of German art from 1100 to 1492. Whilst this well-chosen anthology seems to be intended primarily for the general reader, for whose benefit explanatory footnotes are judiciously inserted, the text of the poems is correctly reproduced in its original form, without any attempt at modernization. The handsome, and at the same time reasonably priced book should appeal also to the serious student.

W. KURRELMMEYER

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*Heine as a Critic of his own Works.* By FRANK HIGLEY WOOD, JR. New York, 1934. The fact that the author of this dissertation has written a very readable book, which gives a brief survey of Heine's literary activity, has somewhat impaired the value of his investigation, for he often loses sight of the problem to be presented and squarely faces it only in the last two chapters "Heine and his literary personality" and the Conclusion. Thus at times his text furnishes merely the occasion for a footnote in which a quotation from Heine is given. A most flagrant case may be found on p. 87: "a few months later two more poems followed, and the fact that in one of them which begins, 'Ich bin nun dreiunddreißig . . . ' he was experimenting with dates, points to a lack of spontaneity that made popular his *Buch der Lieder*." Thus the author's account while the important utterance of Heine referring to this poem is given in the notes and not at all evaluated: "Of this poem Heine writes: Die Natürlichkeit ist hier bis zur Karrikatur gesteigert, das fühl' ich; es war ein Versuch, Jahrzahlen und Datum in ein Gedicht einzuführen." A systematic instead of a chronological treatment would have made it easier to avoid repeating much that is well known and would have compelled the investigator to arrange his material in such a way that it would have been accessible for future reference. The Index is of small help since it lists only titles and names while one would have wished to be referred to Heine's criticism of such matters as style, meter, political purposes, etc.

ERNST FEISE

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*Deutsche Volkslieder mit ihren Melodien* hrsg. vom Deutschen Volksliedarchiv, Erster Band: Balladen, Erster Teil, Zweiter Halbband. Berlin, de Gruyter, 1935. Pp. 197-321, i-xliv. The first half of the first volume of John Meier's admirable *Deutsche Volkslieder* has already been noticed in these pages (126-127). The second half maintains the same high standard of excellence. A few incidental notes will not be out of place here. To the comment on No. 15, "Der Tannhäuser," we can now add the bibliographical note in J. Siebert, *Tannhäuser* (Halle, 1934), pp. 240-41. On p. 172, where the sword as *symbolum castitatis* is mentioned, B. Heller's "L'épée symbole et gardienne de chasteté," *Romania*, xxxvi (1907), 36-49 might have been specially cited. As Carl Klitzke kindly tells me, the name Raumensattel (p. 291) is not entirely unknown. A Stoffel Romensattel was ducal "Hofmeister" in Pfullingen in 1560 (see J. K. Brechenmacher, *Deutsches Namenbuch*<sup>2</sup> [Stuttgart n. d.], p. 314). The *Deutsche Volkslieder* is essential for all study of German folksong.

ARCHER TAYLOR

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*Representative French Lyrics of the Nineteenth Century.* Revised Edition. By GEORGE N. HENNING. Boston and New York: Ginn and Co., 1935. Pp. vi + 557. \$1.40. The general excellence of this anthology has been recognized for over twenty years. Now the editor has brought out a Revised Edition which increases by nearly forty per cent the original number of pages and makes many thorough-going changes. Indeed, it is less a revision than a reconstruction. To the original ten poets, three new names have been added. Of these, Chénier has definite links with nineteenth-century verse, and while Mallarmé and Rimbaud will offer difficulties in the classroom, their inclusion is warranted in order to give more body to Symbolism. Although Professor Henning's sympathies are elsewhere, he tries to do justice to this school; and in general his enlarged critiques achieve a fair appreciation of all these diverse talents. The material selected from Gautier and Sully Prudhomme has been, perhaps wisely, reduced. To a greater extent than in the first edition, individual poems are curtailed or compressed; this seems a pity in certain cases, where the composition is thereby marred. There is no space to indicate other debatable issues or actual errors in the volume. Fuller and more explicit notes, illustrations that are much to the point, a bibliography brought up to date, all add to the oft-tested value of Henning's *Representative French Lyrics*.

E. PRESTON DARGAN

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*Die alttestamentliche Namengebung in England*, by A. MEIER. Kölner anglistische Arbeiten XXII. Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1934. Pp. 55. The author describes his work as *nur ein kleiner Beitrag zum Verständnis der englischen Bibelfreudigkeit, wie sie sich auf dem Gebiet der Namengebung äussert*. This description is exact. A thorough investigation of the subject was not attempted, and still remains a desideratum, but the author has done enough to link the English Bible with the popularity of Old Testament names in England in the Reformation and post-Reformation periods. The ME name *Simond* (from OE *Sigemund*) is wrongly connected with Holy Writ (p. 93).

K. M.

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*Vom Fabliau zu Boccaccio und Chaucer*, by M. LANGE. Britannica VIII. Hamburg: Friederichsen, de Gruyter, 1934. Pp. 155. RM. 7. This monograph is a comparative aesthetic study. Four treatments of the same theme are compared, and the attempt is made to measure and describe the artistic achievements of the respective writers. The theme is that which Chaucer uses in his

*Reeve's Tale*, and this tale is compared with two French *fabliaux* and the sixth novel of the ninth day in Boccaccio's *Decameron*. The author calls his study *ein bescheidener Beitrag*, but it is actually an ambitious undertaking, something hard to do and justifiable only by the event, for the odium which rightly attaches to comparisons cannot be disregarded without danger. The author wrestles valiantly with his difficult task, but fails, I think, to meet the issues which he raises, though his efforts are not wholly profitless, and one reader, at least, deems the job worth the trial.

K. M.

*Neuphilologie als Auslandswissenschaft auf der Grundlage des Sprachstudiums*, by W. SCHMIDT. Marburg: Elwert, 1934. Pp. 52. RM. 1. This booklet was written as a practical guide for German students in modern philology, with particular reference to Anglistics. It strikes an outsider, however, as more theoretical than practical, even though the advice given is usually sensible enough and the bibliography is good. Adherence to the National Socialist program is taken for granted throughout—hardly a sound basis for that objectivity without which philology cannot survive as a science.

K. M.

## CORRESPONDENCE

THE DERIVATION OF FRENCH *Nazi*, "syphilis." In *MLN.*, LI (1936), 35, Professor Leo Spitzer declines to accept Sainéan's derivation of *nazi* from *lazi-loffe*, both of which mean "syphilis" in French slang.<sup>1</sup> The compound form was first used in 1837 in *Les Voleurs* by Eugène François Vidocq. Spitzer posits for it a German etymology *lass sie laufen*, supposedly used in this sense. It seems more plausible to accept Sainéan's interpretation<sup>2</sup> of *lazi*: "mal vénérien, proprement mal de Saint-Lazare, cette prison des vénériennes étant appelée en argot Saint-Laze." Incidentally it is to be noted that *naze* is heard in the slovenly speech of the Paris underworld as a variant for *nazi*.<sup>3</sup> As for *loffe*, Sainéan (*ibid.*, p. 387) offered two definitions, the second of which was inadvertently overlooked by Spitzer: "nigaud, imbécile, proprement vesse; mauvais, faux." In the adjectival sense, the word recurs in the 1836 edition of *Le Jargon de l'argot*

<sup>1</sup> Spitzer had already published a well-documented study of the political homonym *nazi* as the abbreviation for N. S. D. A. P. in *Le Français Moderne*, II (1934), 266-9.

<sup>2</sup> *Les Sources de l'argot ancien*, II (Paris, 1912), 384.

<sup>3</sup> J. Lacassagne, *L'Argot du milieu* (Paris, 1928), who cites the origin proposed by Sainéan.

*reformé*<sup>4</sup> with reference to an ulcer: *corbuche-lophe*. As a substitute for the etymology of Sainéan, Spitzer offers various terms of doubtful affinity: 'Le synonyme argotique *nasiqué*, "syphilitique," reconduit directement au provençal moderne *nasica*, "piquer, ronger, en parlant de l'artison" . . . de *nasico*, "narine, naseau" (Mistral): un *nasiqué* est donc tout simplement un "pourri" . . . *Naze, nazi*, "avarié," dérivent de même du radical provençal.' Spitzer adduced a hypothetical case of *un livre* > *un \*nivre*; so it became difficult for him to admit that *lazi* could lose its initial L (perhaps by confusion with the definite article) and replace it by an unetymological N (perhaps under the influence of the indefinite article).<sup>5</sup> The possibility of alternating the liquid and nasal dentals was defended by Sainéan<sup>6</sup> in his controversy with Rohlfs concerning the names of the otter: Galician *ludra*, *londra*, *nudra*; Spanish *lutria*, *nutria*; Calabrian *litria*, *itria*, *nidria*, etc. There are accepted cases reflecting a tendency for initial L to remain and to develop into N even within the same language: Picard *lāzarn*, *nāzarn*; Northern French *letrin*, *netrin*; Franco-Provençal *lurmand*, *normand* and Portuguese *lavagante*, *navegante*.<sup>7</sup> The reverse phenomenon is also attested in initial L for etymological N: Italian *nanfa*, *lanfa*; Paduan *negun*, *legun*; Old French *nuiton*, *luiton*; Walloon (of Liège) *nigyō*, *ligō*; Sardinian (of Planargia) *nitsola*, *lintsola*; Italian (of Velletri) *novina*, *lovina*.<sup>8</sup> Aside from phonetic considerations, the etymology of the medical term *nazi* must take into account the etiology and pathogeny of the disease. Consequently I think that, of the two semantic bridges to be crossed, the one connecting syphilis and nostril is longer than the one joining syphilis and prison for strumpets.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> The first edition was composed in 1628 by Ollivier Chéreau.

<sup>5</sup> Examples of aphaeresis of initial L were given by A. Thomas, *Mélanges d'étym. fran.* (Paris, 1927), 31; cf. E. Cross, *PMLA*, XLIX (1934), 998.

<sup>6</sup> *Autour des sources indigènes* (Florence, 1935), 440; Rohlfs, *ASNS*, CLIX (1931), 117.

<sup>7</sup> Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. etym. Wtb.* (Heidelberg, 1935), §§ 4821 No. 2, 4827 No. 3, 5098 No. 2c. Dissimilation has resulted at times in doublets: Old Provençal *lamela-namela*, Old French *livel-nivel*, *lomble-nomble*; compare Old French *lombriil* with modern French *nombril* and *ombilio*. Even Latin had both *lympa* and *nympha*.

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, §§ 5808a, 5875, 5894, 5915, 5980, 5990; compare Spanish *naranja* with Italian *arancia* and Portuguese *laranja*. C. Battisti, *Revue ling. rom.*, III (1927), 47 cites *νυχτερίδα* alongside of *λυχτερίδα*; cf. Rohlfs, *Griechen und Romanen in Unteritalien* (Geneva, 1924), 24.

<sup>9</sup> Two years ago Monsieur G. Esnault proposed, in a paper presented before the Société de Linguistique de Paris, to derive *nazi* either from Picard *naze*, "morve" (Corblet, *Glossaire* . . . *picard*) or from Savoyard *azi*, "présure" (Constantin-Désormaux, *Dictionnaire savoyard*).

## ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS TO THE GENERAL INDEX

P. 1, under *Æsop*: An Early Germanic Edition etc., read 11, 23. P. 3, under American Drama, add see also New York and Philadelphia. P. 5, read Armendáriz. P. 6, under Arthurian Romance, add see also Grail Legend and Perceval; read *Athelstan* etc. see also *Brunanburh*; under *Aucassin et Nicolette* read *Evangeline*; add *Audovera* 43, 94. P. 9, under Bible add *Gundulph Bible* 46, 368. P. 10, under Bismarck, read *Heimat*; add *Blasco Ibáñez*, see *Ibáñez*. P. 12, add Browning, Elizabeth Barrett: Mrs. —'s Contributions to American Periodicals 35, 402. P. 15, under *Chansons de geste*, add see also Old French; under *Charlemagne* add The Battle of Roncesvalles in the *Karlamagnus Saga* 6, 129. P. 20, add *Commedia dell' arte*, see Italian Drama and Kemp; under Comparative Literature add see also Literature. P. 21, add Corte, *Il Cavallerizzo* 27, 125. P. 24, under Dialect, see also American etc., add Dutch. P. 25, read Dodds, E. R., see Powell, A. E., p. 204; under Dorset add see also Sackville. P. 28, l. 2, add comma and 351 after 207. P. 36, add Fitzherbert, *Book of Husbandry* 28, 93. P. 37, under Folk-Song, add see also Negro. P. 38, under French, add Sources de l'argot ancien 28, 31. P. 39, under French Dialects, add see also Switzerland. P. 40, under French Drama, add Allusions to the French Theater of 1616 by François Rosset 40, 481. P. 41, under French Epics, add see also Epic; under French Farce, add *Recherches sur l'ancien théâtre français. Trois farces du Recueil de Londres: le Cousturier et Esopet, le Cuvier, Maistre Mimin étudiant* 48, 341; under French Literature, add Répertoire général des ouvrages modernes relatifs au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle français 42, 423. P. 43, under Friends, read Quakerism. P. 46, under German Literature, read — 12, 160. P. 47, under German Poetry, read Übungsbuch . . . Versgeschichte. P. 51, add Googe, see Heresbachius. P. 52, under Greene, add *James IV* 28, 93. P. 53, read Hakluyt as separate item; add *Harrowing of Hell* 27, 125, 28, 93. P. 54, under Hebbel 1st item add comma after —. P. 55, add Heresbachius, *Four Books of Husbandry* 27, 125. P. 59, under Jacobi, read Marginalia; under Jews add see also 6, 71, Wandering Jew and Yiddish. P. 60, under Keats, add —'s *Shakespeare* 44, 339. P. 64, under Le Motteux, add see also Motteux. P. 68, add Mark Twain, see Twain. P. 73, read Moschus. P. 74, under Motteux, add see also Le Motteux. P. 77, under Old French: a tot etc., read 32, 157. P. 80, under Pailleron read 41, 449. P. 84, under Rabbinical Literature, add A Rabbinical Analogue to *Patelin* 22, 12. P. 86, under Rhetoric, add The Evolution of Figures of Speech 3, 251. P. 87, under Romance Philology, add Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch 7, 56. P. 88, under Rostand 2nd item, add comma after —. P. 89, under Rules of Civility read 43, 17; add St. François de Sales, see François de Sales; add St. John Chrysostom: Oriental Affinities of the Legend of the Hairy Anchorite 43, 271. P. 91, after Scogan etc., read 37, 289, 38, 57. P. 94, l. 23, read 44, 396. P. 96, under Sidney, add A Few Notes on —'s *Lady of May* 47, 386. P. 101, under Temple, Sir William add see also 22, 126. P. 105, under Villamediana add cf. 44, 136. P. 107, under Warton, Thomas add see also 22, 126. P. 112, under Alden, R. M. last item, delete period after A. P. 113, under Anibal last item, read 42, 106. P. 116, under Baskervill, C. R. last item, add comma after —. P. 124, under Bright, J. W.: Notes on the *Beowulf*, read 10, 43. P. 127, under Brunetière last item, read littéraire. P. 130, under Carpenter, F. I. first item, italicize Spanish Tragedy. P. 131, under Chadwick, N. K., add see also previous item. P. 133, under Chinard: Notes sur le prologue d'*Atala*, read 31, 125. P. 140, under Darmesteter l. 4, add comma after —. P. 142, add Dodds, E. R., see Powell, A. E., p. 204. P. 145, under Elliott, A. M. last item, add 1, 1. P. 151, under French, J. C., add Poe and the *Baltimore Saturday Visitor* 33, 257. P. 159, under Hale, C. B., read 46, 490; under Hale, E. E., Jr., add see also previous item. P. 163, under Heltzel, add see also Baskervill, C. R. P. 178, l. 1 second column, add semi-colon after 275. P. 179, l. 11 second column, read Necrology. P. 181, under Lempicki, read Weltanschauung. P. 182, under Levi, E., read Il Principe. P. 192, under Molé, read James, W. P. 199, under Padelford l. 9, read 21; under Palacio Valdés, read see Subjects. P. 205, under Purcell, add A Few Notes on Sidney's *Lady of May* 47, 386. P. 213, under Schaafs: Faustmiszellen, read 27, 37; cf. 28, 43, 69. P. 215, under Schmidt, I., read see Flügel, F. P. 227, under Tanger read see Flügel, F. P. 239, under Wiese, read see Bartsch. P. 244, under Zeydel l. 10, read 43, 459.

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